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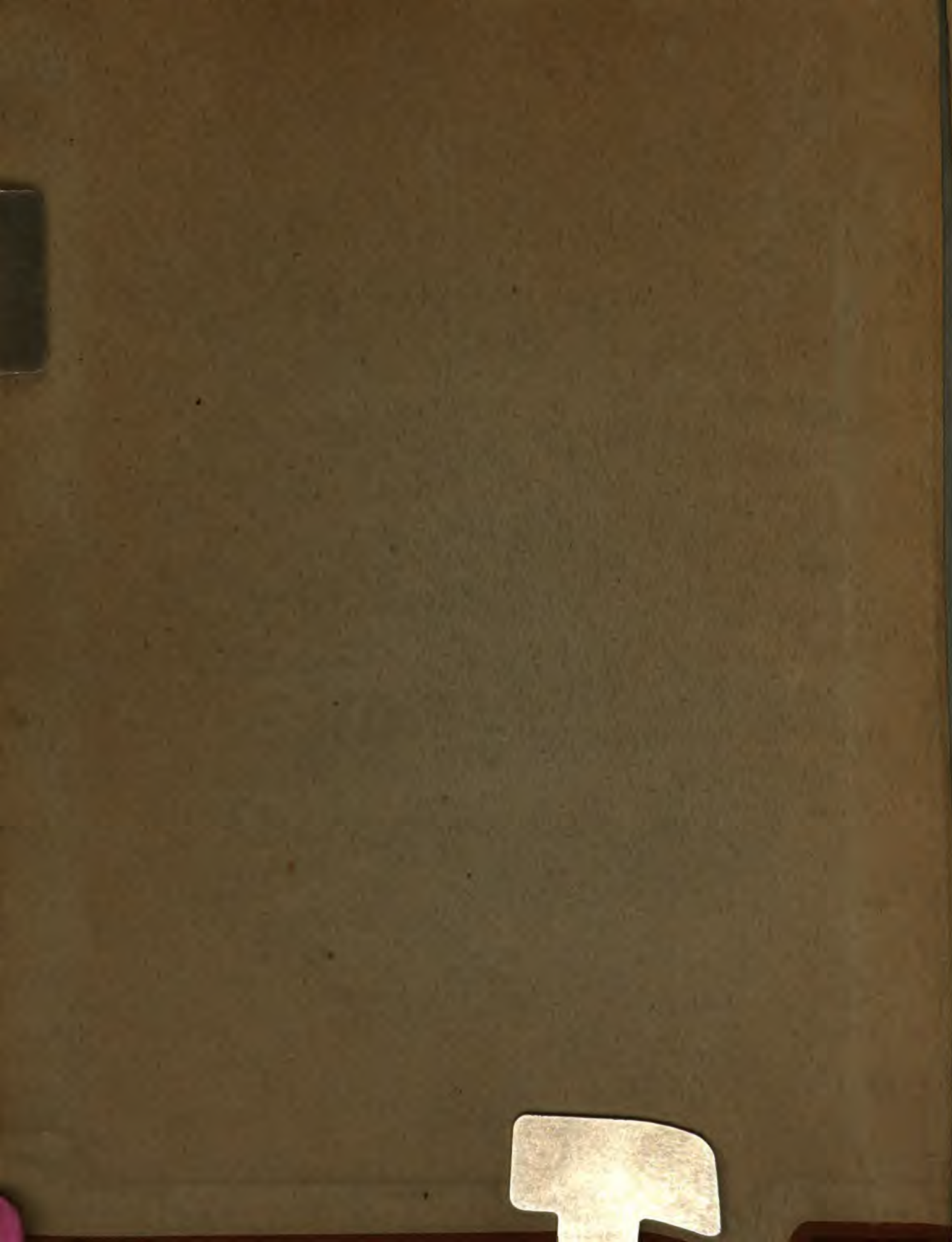
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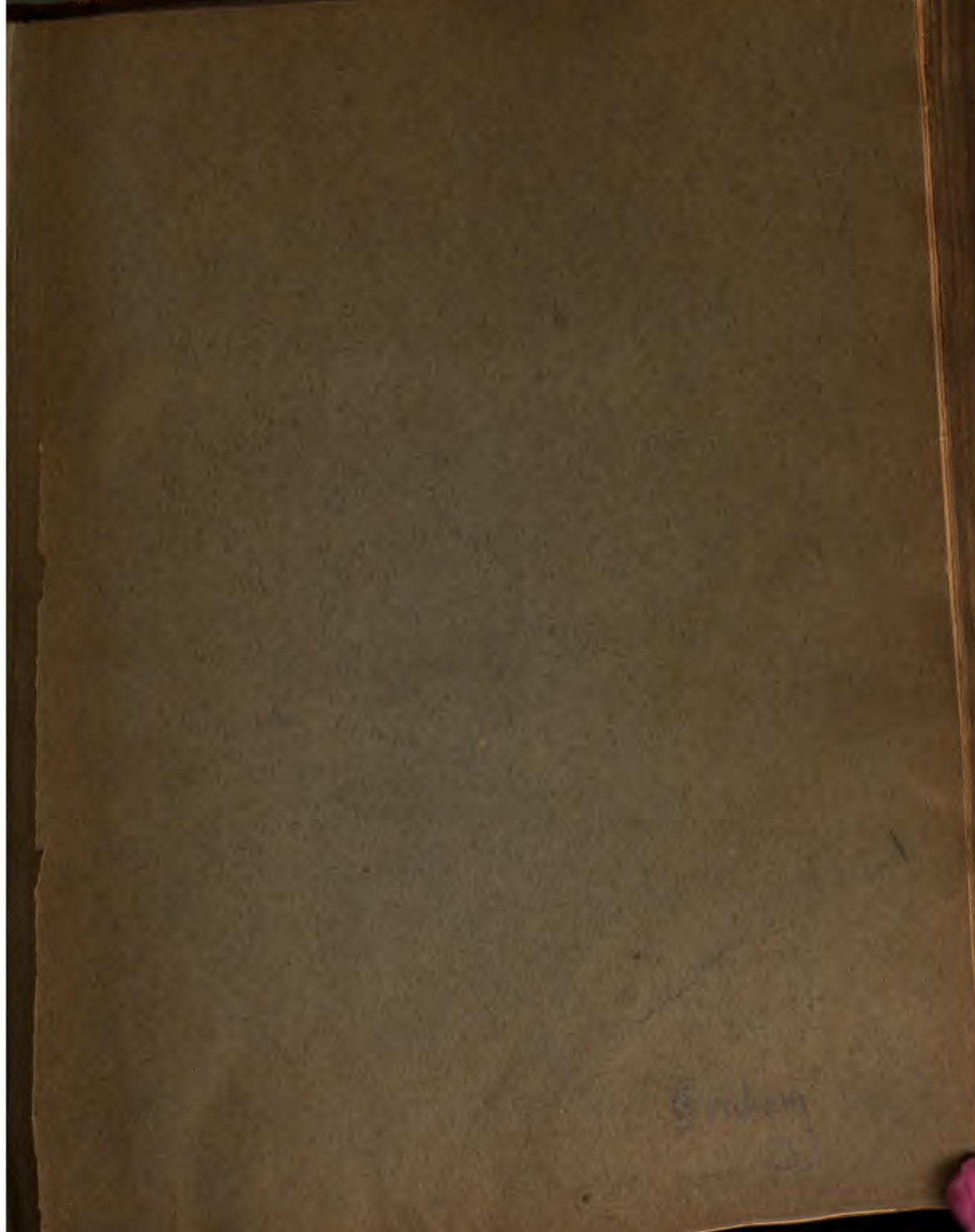
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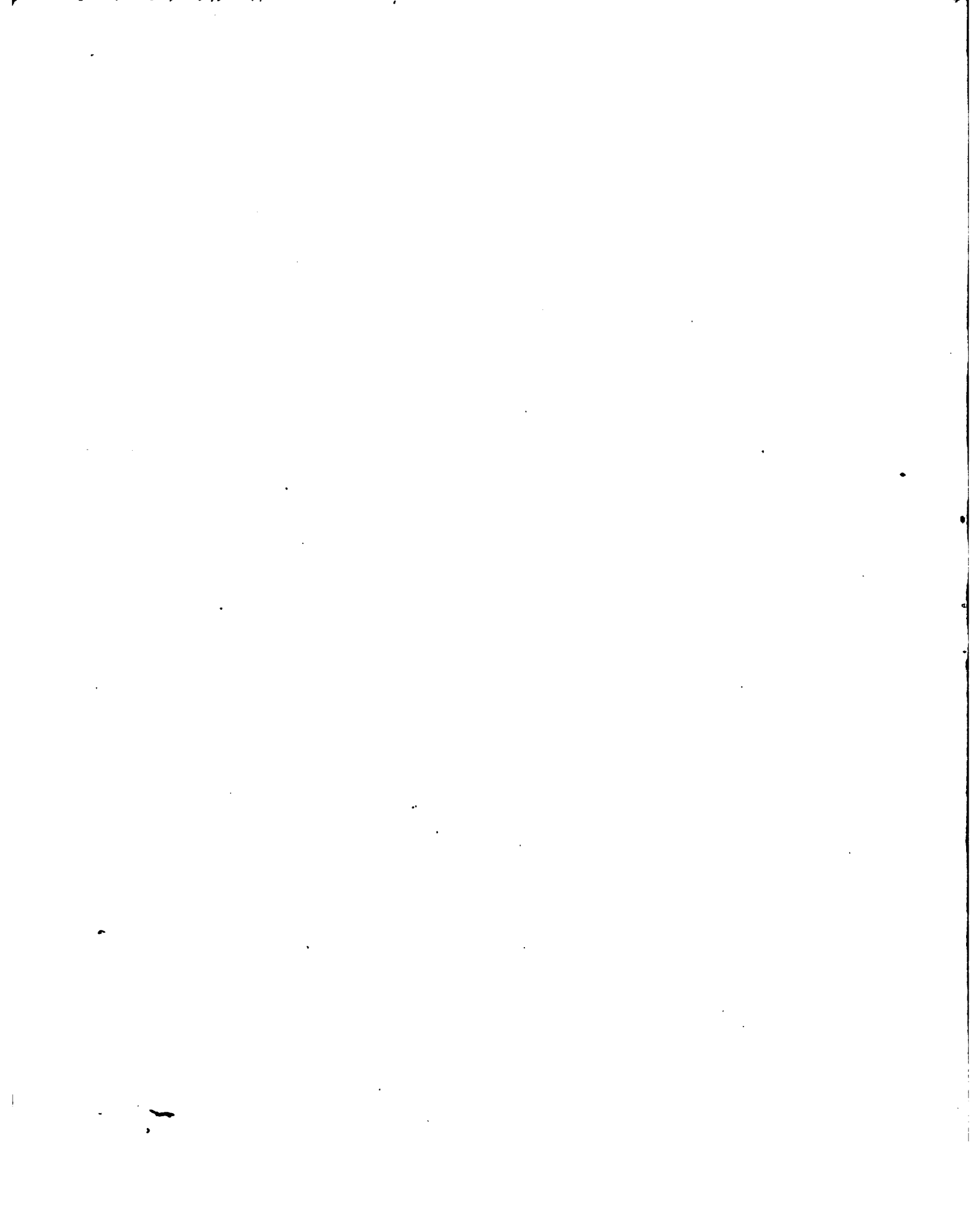
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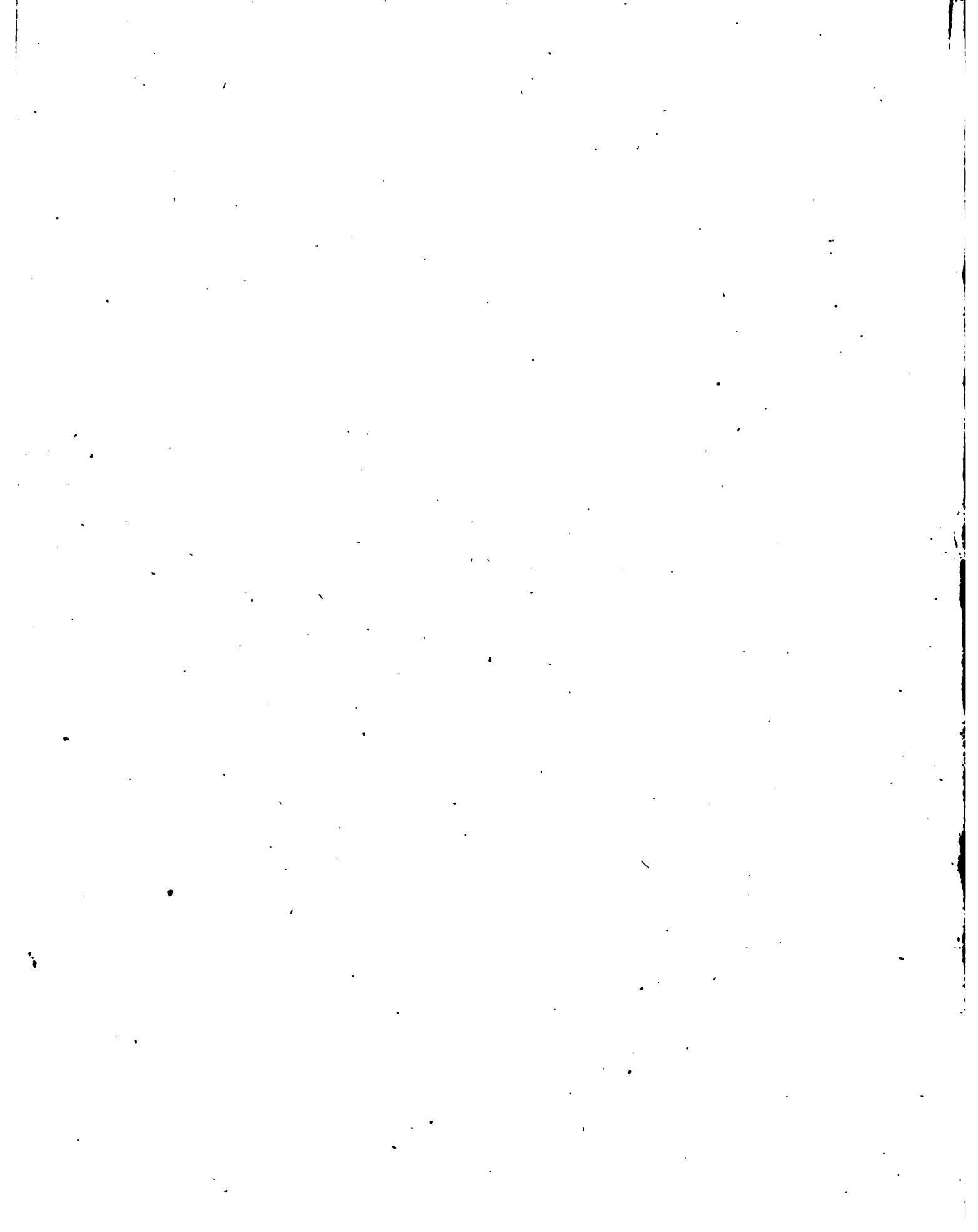






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THE
History of *England*
from the
REVOLUTION to the PRESENT TIME
In a Series of Letters to a Friend
By **CATHARINE MACAULAY**
VOL. I.



BATH Printed by R. Cruttwell, and Sold by
E. & C. Dilly, T. Cadell & J. Walter in *LONDON*

MDCCCLXXXVIII.



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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE
PRESENT TIME,
IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO
THE REVEREND DOCTOR WILSON,
RECTOR OF ST. STEPHEN'S WALBROOK,
AND PREBENDARY OF WESTMINSTER.
BY CATHARINE MACAULAY.

V O L. I

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MDCCLXXVIII.

CH

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D,
F R O M T H E
REVOLUTION to the PRESENT TIME.

TO THE REV. DR. W*****,

L E T T E R I.

WHEN you indulged me with the happiness of your correspondence, my excellent friend, it never crossed your imagination, that the satisfaction you gave me the opportunity of enjoying, would be mixed with any alloy; yet, my friend, it has subjected me to an anxious desire of rendering my letters worthy your attention, and my correspondence the source of your amusement.

VOL. I.

B

THE

LETTER I.

THE virtues of your character, it must be owned, afford a ample field for literary eloquence: A detail of filial piety in instances the most trying to human fortitude; the supporting an independent temper and conduct in the midst of the servile depravities of a court; the almost singular instance of warm patriotism united to the clerical character; your moderation in every circumstance of indulgence which regards yourself, whilst you are lavishing thousands on the public cause, and to enlarge the happiness of individuals; the exemplary regularity of your life; your patience and fortitude, and even cheerfulness, under the infirmities of a weak and tender constitution; and, lastly, the munificent favors you have conferred on me, are subjects of sufficient power to animate the dullest writer; but these are subjects, my friend, which I am convinced will please every reader better than yourself: And as the love of your country, and the welfare of the human race, is the only ruling passion I have ever discerned in your character, I shall avail myself of this inclination, and endeavor to fix your attention by the interesting detail of those causes and circumstances, which have insensibly led us from the airy height of imaginary security, prosperity, and elevation, to our present state of danger and depravity.

THE Reformation and the Revolution are the two grand æras in our history, which are celebrated by every political writer,

writer, as productive of the most perfect state of civil and religious freedom which human society is capable of enjoying; and yet, my friend, your penetrating sagacity must have led you to discover, that the Reformation was more the result of interested policy, than an honest zeal to restore the primitive purity and simplicity of the christian system: a purity no longer preserved than whilst the church was totally unconnected with the civil power. But a Reformation on these principles would have ill suited the designs of a Court.

LETTER I.

THE view of Henry the Eighth was to gratify his resentment against the Roman Pontiff, to enrich his coffers with the spoils of the clergy, and to render his power compleatly despotic by the union of the ecclesiastic with the civil sword. These pious views have been religiously followed by his successors: church government, instead of being new modelled on a plan proper to preserve the freedom of the constitution, and the morals of the people, is rendered a mere ministerial engine; the spiritual kingdom of Christ, a subordinate limb of the state politic; and the regular teachers of christianity, the professed creatures of government, and the base instruments of wicked policy.

It must be owned, that the Revolution gave a different aspect to the constitution from what it had carried through

LETTER I. the government, or rather the tyrannies, of the Tudors and the Stuarts. The maxim of hereditary indefeasible right, which those princes had principally established by the assistance of the church, was altogether renounced by a free Parliament; the power of the Crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people; and allegiance and protection were declared reciprocal terms: yet on this great occasion, when the nation had solemnly renounced their allegiance to the male line of the Stuarts, for their abuse of power, and their repeated attempts to destroy all the balances of the constitution, and render the monarchy purely despotic; when they had adopted into the regal rights a family who had no pretence to the government but that of election; the zeal of the patriots to establish the personal interest of their leader, co-operating with those irrational prejudices which the detestable doctrines of the church had sown very deep in the hearts of the people, occasioned the convention of estates, which established William on the throne, to neglect this fair opportunity to cut off all the prerogatives of the crown, to which they had justly imputed the calamities and injuries sustained by the nation, and which had ever prevented the democratical principles of the constitution from acting to the security of those liberties and privileges vainly set forth in the letter of the law.

THE

THE plan of settlement was neither properly digested or LETTER I.
maturely formed; it was neither agreeable to the regularity
of the Saxon constitution which effectually secured every pri-
vilege it bestowed; nor did it admit of any of those refine-
ments and improvements, which the experience of mankind
had enabled them to make in the science of political security.
On the contrary, the new monarch retained the old regal
power over parliaments in its full extent; he was left at li-
berty to convoke, adjourn, or dissolve them at his pleasure;
he was enabled to influence elections, and oppress corpora-
tions; he possessed the right of choosing his own council, of
nominating all the great officers of the state, the household,
the army, the navy, and the church; the absolute command
over the militia was reserved to the crown; and so totally
void of improvement was the Revolution system, that the
reliques of the star chamber was retained in the office of the
Attorney-General, who in the case of libels has the power
of lodging a vexatious, and even a false information, without
being subjected to the penalty of cost or damage.

Your extensive reading in history, my friend, will not, I
believe, furnish you with one exception to this rule; that
when the succession in the government is changed, without a
substantial provision for the security of liberty, its total de-
struction is accomplished, by the measure intended for its
preservation;

LETTER L

✓ preservation ; and the reason is plain ; a military establishment becomes necessary to defend the government from the pretensions of the dethroned sovereign ; besides, those who, on principles of patriotism, are the authors of such a Revolution, are imperceptibly warmed into the injudicious heat of partizans ; and the dread of pains and penalties attendant on a Restoration, insensibly leads them to concur in strengthening the power of the reigning sovereign, though at the expence of that constitutional freedom they had run the hazard of their lives and fortunes to obtain.

IN addition to this favorable circumstance, the kingdom, on the accession of William to the throne, was divided into three different factions ; of jacobites, who closely adhered to the doctrine of a sacred indefeasible right to government inherent in one family ; of tories, who abetted and supported arbitrary principles of government in general ; and of whigs, who professed moderate principles in the government of church and state, or rather, to submit to the dominion of equitable and fixed laws, instead of the unsettled tyrannical mandates of a court : It was to this party that William was chiefly, if not entirely, indebted for the crown. As the large, independent revenue which had been settled on James by a tory parliament, had enabled him to set at defiance every legal opposition, the whigs were determined, if possible, to preserve

preserve the power of the purse; the only remaining constitutional check on prerogative; on the grounds that the royal revenue in the late reigns had been often embezzled, and always misapplied. It was now resolved, that a certain sum should be set apart for the maintenance of the king's household, and the support of his dignity; and that the rest of the public money should be employed under the inspection of parliament. According to this resolution, the Commons voted, that a constant revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds should be established for the support of the crown in time of peace: the civil list was settled at six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the Queen Dowager, the Prince and Princess of Denmark, the judges; and Marshal Scomberg, who, in consideration of his important services to the nation, was complimented with a pension, besides the gift of one hundred thousand pounds on the pretence of charges and anticipations, which the Commons had not time to examine.

THE revenue was settled by a provisional act for one year only; and it was plainly the intention of the whigs to grant it from year to year, or at least for a small term, that they might have something more to depend on than the moderation of the sovereign, and his religious regard to the claim of rights and principles of resistance on which the Revolution

was

LETTER II. was founded. This was not the sentiment of the modern Timoleon. Without weighing the dangerous consequences which in monarchies must ever attend a personal compliment to the sovereign, he complained of these prudent restraints laid upon the application of the public money, as marks of diffidence, by which he was distinguished from his predecessors; and even threatened to leave the party in the lurch, and retire to Holland.

William did not long labor under these mortifications: the tory faction, whose principles led them to oppose every limitation to royal power, had been only induced to comply with the whigs, through the terror of attainders, to which they were liable from the guilt they had incurred as abettors of the cruel and tyrannical measures of the last reign. This party no sooner perceived that William was as tenacious of power as his predecessors, than they began to form designs to disappoint the whigs of all the salutary fruits of the Revolution. With the assistance of the Peers, they frustrated an attempt made for regulating the militia, in a manner which would have rendered it in a great measure independant of the King, and the Lords Lieutenants of counties; and through Lord Nottingham, who, though a leader of the tory faction, had been appointed secretary of state, they offered to exert their whole strength in favour of the crown, provided they

they were screened by an act of indemnity from the persecution of the whigs. LETTER I.

THE shutting the doors of both houses to those delinquents who had been the most active in the measures of the last reign, and depriving them of their votes at elections by an act of incapacitation, was a favorite scheme of the whigs; because it was the only circumstance which could enable them to give the balances of the constitution their due poise, and to model the government to the plan of a well-regulated monarchy. It was then, with the utmost chagrin, that they found the King interest himself so earnestly for the declared enemies of freedom, as to send a message to the Commons by Mr. Hambden, in which he recommended a bill of indemnity as the most effectual means to put an end to all controversies, distinctions, and occasions of discord. The whigs had the address to defeat the King's design for some time; but the parties were so equally balanced in Parliament, that a bill for restoring corporations to their ancient rights and privileges, passed by one vote only, with the rejection of two *clauses* against those who were concerned in the surrendering charters. It is said that the whigs interested themselves so earnestly for the fate of this bill, that they promised to manifest their gratitude, should it be passed into a law; but be this as it may, the little influence they at

LETTER I. first had with the King was daily declining; the leaders of the tory faction were not only admitted to his councils; they were gratified with the dismissal of two staunch whigs, the Earls of Monmouth and Warrington, and the most violent of the party was taken into the commission of the lieutenancy of London.

You have lived too many years in the world, my friend, to be surprized at instances of royal ingratitude, and undoubtedly have long learned to put no confidence in princes; nor do I pretend to tell you novelties, or to have any other end in this narration, but to revive your memory on the facts necessary to connect that train of events which have completed the overthrow of the whig principles, and bids fair to render the government of this country as intolerable a despotism as the Romans endured after the ruin of their commonwealth.

By the countenance, if not by the assistance of the King, the tories gained such a majority in the new Parliament, that Sir John Trevor, a warm partizan of the faction, was chosen speaker; and, according to some authors, undertook to procure a majority at the devotion of the court, provided he should be supplied with the sums necessary for corruption: however, it was with some difficulty, though the whole weight of court interest was flung into the scale, that a bill, which

which declared the laws passed in the convention parliament valid, found its way to the throne. The most violent of the faction, with the Earl of Nottingham, the secretary of state, at their head, entered a protest against it; yet William had so entirely flung himself into the arms of the party, that, in the midst of a fierce debate on the import of a bill requiring all subjects in office to abjure James Stuart, an intimation was sent to the Commons that the King desired they would drop the debate, and proceed to business of greater importance. LETTER I.

It is said, that the tories represented to the King, that the passing this bill would throw him intirely into the hands of the whigs, who would renew their old practices against prerogative. His interposition on this occasion highly disgusted the friends of liberty: the Earl of Shrewsbury so warmly resented it, that he withstood the persuasive eloquence of Dr. Tillotson, sent from the court to soften his anger; and though strongly pressed on the occasion, refused to keep the seals till the King returned from Ireland.

THE whigs were so entirely foiled in every effort they made to vindicate the liberties of the people, and obtain justice on public delinquents, that a bill to attain the blood and forfeit the estates of the execrable Jeffries, proved as unsuccessful as their other attempts; and whilst the family of this detest-

LETTER I. able citizen were permitted to enjoy the fruits of his villainy, the brave, the virtuous, the patriotic Ludlow, was refused the satisfaction of spending the short remainder of life in his own country;—a country, for whose welfare he had often bled, and had offered the sacrifice of his life and fortune.

IN return for these weighty compliances, William was gratified with the hereditary excise during his life, and the customs for four years: an act of indemnity passed, with the exception of thirty persons only; and from this period the King was enabled to balance parties in a manner, to give the preponderating weight to every court measure. The Tories looked up to him for preferment, and the Whigs for safety; and both parties vied with each other in adulatory addresses, and unconstitutional compliances: nor were the two factions, of high church and low, much less favorable to the power of government. As William was a Calvinist by profession, and a friend to toleration, he had the whole body of Dissenters at his command; who, little attending to the intimate connection there is between civil and religious liberty, and the impossibility of preserving the one with the loss of the other, regarded the enlargement of the King's power as a necessary bulwark against the tyranny of the church.

BISHOPRICS, deaneries, and other church dignatories, with a large number of livings in the disposal of the crown,

crown, enabled the King to combat the resentment of the high church clergy; eight bishops, indeed, refused to take the oaths, but their bishoprics were soon filled with men of more complying consciences; and as the doctrine of indefeasible right was not at present the road to preferment, the brethren in general declared, that the passive obedience and non-resistance required in scripture were indiscriminate, and therefore conclusive in regard to the present government.

A WAR with France was a natural consequence of the Revolution. By the violation of all treaties, and the laws of every nation, the French King had rendered his power the terror and the scourge of Europe; the conniving with his ambitious views was in general regarded as the most criminal part of the administration of the last reigns; and the assistance he had given to his old friend and ally, James, by which he was enabled to invade and ravage Ireland, was an additional provocation, which increased the resentment of all the friends to the Revolution. William, whose ruling passion was military heroism, had long and eagerly sought an opportunity to revenge the insults and injuries his country had received from the ambitious Lewis: it was at this period that a confederacy which he had *proposed* among the princes of the empire began to take effect: the Emperor negotiated an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the States-General,

LETTER I. General, binding the contracting parties to co-operate with their whole power against France and her allies. It was stipulated that neither side should engage in a separate treaty, on any pretence whatever : that no peace should be admitted until the treaties of Westphalia, Osnaburgh, Munster, and the Pyrenées, should be vindicated ; that in case of a negotiation for peace, or truce, the transactions on both sides should be communicated bona fide ; and that Spain and England should be invited to accede to the treaty.

THE engaging England as a principal in the confederacy, was a favorite object of William's policy ; nor was it long before he was gratified to the full. In consequence of the fore-mentioned invitation, Mr. Hambden made a motion in the lower house for taking into consideration the state of the kingdom, with respect to France and foreign alliances : the Commons unanimously resolved, that in case his Majesty should think fit to engage in a war with France, they would enable him to carry it on with vigor. In consequence of this resolution, an address was drawn up and presented to the King, desiring he would seriously consider the destructive measures taken of late years by the French King, against the trade, quiet, and interest of the nation ; particularly, his present invasion of Ireland, and supporting the rebels of that kingdom : further, that the parliament did not doubt but the
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the alliances already made, with those which might hereafter LETTER I.
be concluded by his Majesty, would be sufficient to reduce the French King to such a condition, that it should be no more in his power to violate the peace of Christendom, nor prejudice the trade and prosperity of England. At the end of the address the King was assured, that he might depend on the assistance of parliament, according to the vote which had passed in the house of commons.

THE matter of the parliament's address was too flattering to the King's inclination not to be complied with: a war was immediately declared against the French monarch, and Lewis was charged with having ambitiously invaded the territories of the Emperor, and denounced war against the allies of England in violation of the treaties confirmed under the guaranty of the English crown; with having encroached upon the fishery of Newfoundland; invaded the Caribbee Islands; taken forcible possession of New-York and Hudson's Bay; made depredations on the English at sea; prohibited the importation of English manufactories; disputed the right of the flag; persecuted many English subjects on account of religion; and with having sent an armament to Ireland.

THE King of France, who, with the assistance of the two last English sovereigns, had been able to bully all Europe for
the

LETTER I.

the space of near thirty years, shewed no marks of dejection at this confederacy: he supplied James with a fleet, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, seven frigates, three fire-ships, and a large number of transports; and this prince, with twelve hundred British subjects, and several of the best of the French officers, landed at Kinsale in Ireland, on the twenty-second day of March, 1689. By the attachment of the Earl of Tyrconnel, who commanded in Ireland, and who had found means to amuse William, he was joined on his landing with an army of thirty-eight thousand men, and the whole kingdom, except the city of Londonderry, received him with submission.

It is asserted by some authors, that Tyrconnel had sent several messages to King William, that he was ready to deliver the kingdom of Ireland to any force which might render a surrender decent; and that his offers were rejected, on the reason, that should Ireland yield, no pretence could remain for keeping an army in pay. Be this as it may, by William's attention to the affairs of the continent, and by reason of the motley complection of his council, who were composed of whigs, tories, and jacobites, thirty ships of war, which had been put in commission in February, were not all ready to sail in April; when Admiral Herbert, who commanded on the occasion, was obliged to put to sea with only part of the fleet.

JAMES

JAMES had not sufficient abilities to make the most of LETTER I. advantages: instead of bringing the affairs of Ireland to an immediate conclusion, and carrying his army either to the north of England or the west of Scotland, as he was desired to do by his adherents on this side the water, he lost all his time in pressing the siege of Londonderry; which made so gallant and obstinate a resistance, that it encouraged the Inniskillingers to raise twelve regiments, with which they gained advantages in several skirmishes with the enemy.

THIS, my friend, was not the only gross error in the conduct of this infatuated bigot: by the advice, and with the assistance of a popish parliament, a law was made to repeal the act of settlement passed in the beginning of the reign of Charles the Second; nor was any regard paid to such protestant owners as had purchased estates for valuable considerations; no allowance was made for improvements; no provision for protestant widows; the possessors and tenants were not permitted to remove their stock and corn; and, to complete the destruction of the party, an act of attainder was passed against all protestants, whether male or female, who were absent from the kingdom, and likewise against all those who did not own the authority of King James, or corresponded with rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting, or assisting to them, from the first day of August in the preceding year.

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THE number of protestants who were by this act declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture, with the exclusion of all hopes of pardon, or benefit of appeal, amounted to three thousand: and as if this proceeding was not sufficient to alienate the affections of every protestant in the whole British empire, the executive part of James's government was as arbitrary as the legislative; the shops of tradesmen and the kitchens of burghers were pillaged, to supply the mint with a quantity of brass, which was converted into current coin; an arbitrary value was set upon it, and all persons required to take it in payment, under severe penalties.

A TAX of twenty thousand pounds a month was imposed by the King's authority; soldiers were permitted to live on free quarters; licenses and protections were abused; and the protestants, who had laid out all their brass money in hides, tallow, wool, and corn, were obliged to sell these commodities at the price fixed on them by the tyrant.

As it was the intention of James and his council to root out protestantism from Ireland, all vacancies in the public schools were supplied with popish teachers. The pension allowed from the exchequer to the university of Dublin was cut off; the vice-provost, fellows, and scholars were expelled,
and

and their furniture, plate, and library seized; their college LETTER I. was converted into a garrison, and their chapel into a magazine; a popish priest was appointed provost, and Maccartny, of the same profession, library-keeper. When bishoprics and benefices in the gift of the crown became vacant, the profits were lodged in the exchequer; the cures were totally neglected; and the revenues chiefly employed in the maintenance of popish bishops and priests, who in several places seized the protestant churches.

ON the appearance of ships in the bay of Dublin, one proclamation was issued, forbidding the protestants to assemble in any place of worship, or elsewhere, on pain of death; another commanded them to give up their arms, on pain of being treated as rebels and traitors; and a third, published by Lutterel, governor of Dublin, required the farmers to bring in their corn for his Majesty's horses within a certain day, on penalty of being hanged before their own doors. These and many other unnecessary cruelties were, in direct opposition to the tenor of five proclamations, published by James on his first arrival in Ireland: and indeed, my friend, had this savage bigot preserved any reasonable terms with the protestants in this kingdom, or conducted his short administration on the principles of equity and moderation, he would have stood no mean chance of re-mounting the British throne.

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THE whigs had received too little advantage from the revolution, to be satisfied with the increase of taxes, which a gratuity to the Dutch, to the amount of six hundred thousand pounds, and the expence of the army necessary to reduce Ireland, had occasioned. The affections of the warmest friends to the revolution were so highly alienated, that Halifax, one of William's prime counsellors, declared, that were James to conform with the protestants, he could not be kept four months from re-ascending the throne.

IT was so strongly the opinion of the public, that in the management of the supplies destined for Ireland, William had been betrayed by the jacobite part of his ministry, that on the meeting of the English parliament, the Lords, after addressing the King to put the Isle of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, Dover Castle, and the other fortresses of the kingdom in a posture of defence, and to disarm the papists, empowered a committee to enquire into the miscarriages of Ireland; but it was not till the Commons had passed a very angry vote against the King's counsellors, that the parliament were gratified with the inspection of the minute book of the committee for Irish affairs: it was resolved, that an address should be presented to the King, declaring, that the succour destined for the relief of Ireland had been retarded by unnecessary delays; that the transports prepared were not sufficient to convey

vey the forces; and that several ships had been taken by the enemy, for want of proper convoy. LETTER I.

THE Marquisses of Carmarthen and Halifax had been very deep in the guilt of the last reigns. During the administration of Charles the Second, an impeachment of high treason had been formally lodged against Carmarthen; and it was now moved by Howe, vice-chamberlain to the Queen, that an address should be sent up against such counsellors as had been impeached in parliament, and had betrayed the liberties of the nation: the question on this motion was carried in the negative by a small majority; and as a proof that the Commons were at this time roused from their state of compliant supineness, a motion made by Mr. Hambden, for a further supply to the King, was not seconded by any member: however, as the grounds for the motion were intercepted letters from James to his partizans, containing hints of an intended invasion, a bill was brought in for attainting several persons in rebellion against their Majesties; and it was resolved to draw up an address to the King, desiring him to secure and disarm all papists of note.

It was in the next sessions of this parliament, my friend, that the whigs made several attempts to obstruct the passing the act of indemnity, and several efforts to bring delinquents to

LETTER I.

to justice, which have been noticed in the beginning of this letter. The examination of the reasons for the miscarriage in Ireland was resumed; and it was found that the inactivity of Marshal Scomberg, who had been landed some time in that kingdom, was owing to the ill conduct of Shales, purveyor-general to the army, who had exercised the same office under King James. This discovery, and other instances of mismanagement, and the King's refusal to give any answer to an address of the Commons, in which they desired to know by whom Shales had been recommended to his office, threw the whole party of whigs into such ill humor, that Hambden, after having expressed his surprize that the administration should consist of those very persons whom King James had employed when his affairs were desperate, moved, that the King should be petitioned in an address to discard such persons from his presence and councils.

I SHOULD lengthen this to a tedious narration, my friend, were I to relate the number of these kind of motions which were made by the whigs, and all passed in the negative: however, it is necessary to observe, that, enraged to find themselves continually foiled by tories and placemen, the question was proposed by the party, whether a placeman ought to have a seat in the house; and after a very warm debate, it was carried in the affirmative, on the futile pretence,
that

that by such an exclusion the commonwealth would be de- LETTER I.
prived of some of the ablest senators in the kingdom.

As the affairs of Ireland grew very pressing, and William had found himself repeatedly betrayed by servants, which, for reasons of policy, he did not chuse to discard, he determined to finish the war in that country in person : the good effects of this resolution were soon experienced ; a general engagement ensued ; the Irish met with a total defeat ; and James, who seems to have apprehended nothing so much as the falling into the hands of his son-in-law a second time, fled with precipitation, and retired to France. Dublin was abandoned by the papists, and the administration returned into the hands of the protestants.

AN advantage which the French fleet obtained at Beachy-Head over the combined forces of the English and the Dutch, put the government of England in great consternation : the French fleet rode in triumph in the channel for many weeks ; nor was there any regular force in the kingdom strong enough to face any army which had been landed in the name of King James.

It is asserted, that it was the design of the French King to send a squadron of twenty-five frigates to St. George's-
Channel,

LETTER I. Channel, to burn all the ships on both sides, but such as should be necessary to transport his ally, and some troops, to England: had this scheme been put in execution, it must have confined William in Ireland, whilst his rival mounted the throne; but the flight of James disconcerted the plan; his conduct in Ireland damped the spirits of his party in England; and a victory, which, with good policy and fortitude on the side of the exiled Prince, had been sufficient to have reinstated him in power, was now followed with the imprisonment of several of the most zealous of his friends, with the commitment of the English admiral, the Earl of Torrington, and with loyal addresses to the throne from every part of the kingdom. However, the faction in Ireland, encouraged by the success of the French fleet, refused to lay down their arms. William in person was repulsed from the town of Limerick; and Ireland, harrassed by the cruel ravages of the armies on both sides, exhibited a scene of slaughter, desolation, and every species of barbarity, which attend the civil broils of bigotted and unrelenting factions.

WILLIAM, who found the conquest of the Irish a much more difficult undertaking than he apprehended, put the command of the army under two Dutchmen, the Count de Solmes, and the Baron de Ginkle; committed the civil administration of affairs to Lord Sydney, and Thomas Coningsby;

Coningsby, and sailed for England, immediately after his repulse at Limerick. LETTER I.

THE Irish were not entirely reduced till the year 1691, when having lost almost all their towns, and being surrounded on every side by the English forces, they surrendered on the following terms of capitulation:—

All papists were restored to the enjoyment of such liberty in the exercise of religion, as was consistent with the laws of Ireland, and conformable with that which they possessed in the reign of Charles the Second:

All persons whatever, excepting certain individuals who were forfeited or exiled, who had acted in the rebellion, were indulged with a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprision of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanors whatsoever, committed since the beginning of the reign of James the Second:

It was agreed that no person should be sued or impleaded, on either side, for any trespass, or made accountable for the rents, tenements, lands, or houses, received or enjoyed since the beginning of the war:

LETTER I. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the articles were authorized to keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun, for his defence and amusement:

The inhabitants of garrisons were permitted to remove their goods and chattels, without search, visitation, or payment of duty: All officers and soldiers in the service of King James, comprehending a dissolute and cruel banditti, called the rapparees, willing to go beyond sea, were at liberty to march in bodies to the places of embarkation, to be conveyed to the Continent, with the French officers and troops; this body were to be furnished with passports, convoys, and carriages, by land and water, and Ginckle, the English general, engaged to provide seventy ships, if necessary, for their transportation, with two men of war for the accommodation of their officers, and to serve as a convoy to the fleet:

All the garrisons were to march out of their respective towns and fortresses with the honors of war:

The Irish were to have liberty to transport nine hundred horses:

All prisoners of war were to be set at liberty; and none of those who were willing to quit the kingdom were to be detained on account of debt, or any other pretence.

It

IT is plain, my friend, that William was desirous at all events to please the party in England, by giving terms of such unexampled indulgence to the Irish papists and jacobites; or, in order to have full leisure to prosecute the war on the continent, he was determined at any expence to avoid further trouble in Ireland. LETTER I.

I HAVE given you all the particulars of this famous treaty, styled, the treaty of Limerick, because it was directly opposite to the sense of a bill which had passed the English house of Commons; and it was a subject of high disgust to the protestants of Ireland, who complained, that those who had suffered for their loyalty to King William were neglected, and obliged to abide by their losses, whilst their enemies, who had shed deluges of blood in opposing his government, and who had committed acts of cruelty, injustice, and oppression, whilst power was in their hands, were dismissed with the honors of war, and transported at the expence of government to fight against the English in foreign countries.

IF the Irish protestants found themselves obliged to submit to the unreasonable dictates of an individual, whom they had called in for their support, protection, and deliverance, the English were at this time under the same mortifying circumstance. A rebellion, quelled with the impolitic conduct of

LETTER I. his rival, had given permanence and extent to William's authority : it was in vain that the friends of liberty, on recent disgust, had renewed their batteries against the Marquis of Halifax, and endeavored to revive the impeachment of the Marquis of Carmarthen : it was in vain that they complained that the Earl of Nottingham, an enemy to the Revolution, was at the head of the King's counsels : it was in vain that they complained of despotic government in Ireland ; of abuses in the articles of Limerick, to the prejudice of the protestants ; of embezzling the stores left in the towns and garrisons by the late King James ; and of recruiting the troops with Irish papists, who had been in the rebellion : it was in vain that they opposed the establishment of a standing army, and consequently the addition of oppressive taxes. All these points were carried against them by the courtiers of all denominations ; and in the short space of three years after the Revolution, the English found themselves involved in all the troubles of the Continent ; in danger of domestic thralldom, from a large military establishment, and an increase of the public burthens full two thirds, *i. e.* from twelve hundred thousand pounds, to three millions four hundred eleven thousand six hundred and seventy-five pounds.

I do not know, my friend, whether you are disposed to be entertained with my narration ; but, for my part, I am
tired

tired with the subject of public abuses, therefore shall lay **LETTER I.**
down my pen, and endeavor to refresh my wearied spirits
with some work of imagination, where government answers
its just end, where the princes are all wise and good, and
the subjects happy and content.

I am, ever, &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R I I.

LETTER II.

AFTER paying me many elegant compliments on the unaffected stile of my narrative, which, you assure me, conveys to you a very full idea of the temper of parties, and the humor of the times, you tell me, my dear friend, that the conduct of the partizans of liberty, if there were any who deserve that appellation, was very reprehensible, and that they cannot stand excused to posterity for not taking advantage of the personal aversion of the jacobites to limit the power of the elected monarch, according to the ideas entertained at this crisis by those who were the most enlightened of the party on the interesting subject of political security.

THIS.

THIS neglect, 'till I had an opportunity of examining more minutely into the history of these times, has, I own to you, my friend, been a matter of astonishment to me. LETTER II.

THE dislike, and even abhorrence, which the jacobites conceived for a man who, according to their notions, had trampled on the sacred right of succession, and usurped the power of the Lord's Anointed. would undoubtedly have led them to oppose the ambitious views of William; but the jacobites, whose political errors flow entirely from religious bigotry, were but a small number in comparison to the tories, whose corruptions primarily arise from the badness of their hearts, and from thence infect their understanding.

THIS political sect may justly be termed idol worshippers; they make a deity of human power, and expect particular benefits for their servile offerings. They look with malignant eyes on democratical privileges, merely because they affect the happiness of subjects in general; they grant power to the sovereign as misers lend money, with the view of illegal interest; and willingly subject themselves to the influence of superiors, on the hope that they may have it in their power to return the insult on those whom they regard in the light of inferiors.

ALL

LETTER II.

ALL this party, my friend, were, to a man, against encroaching on what they termed the just prerogative of the crown ; and it was for this reason that they were courted and trusted by the new King.

IF that declaration which William sent to England before he came over, says the excellent Davenant, was the polar star by which our state pilots were to steer their course, it was well known, that to keep the same parliament fitting so many years was what had chiefly debauched the gentry of this kingdom, it was therefore that in the act for declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, some provision should have been made against that evil for the future.

SEVERAL ministers, who have betrayed their king and country, have gone on to the last with impunity by parliament's being quite kept off ; but more have found shelter for their crimes in houses which have held long together, and of which they have had the handling for many sessions. Could men pretend to be patriots, and not take care of securing that post ? could our freedom be any way certainly lost, but by laying aside the use of parliaments, as was designed in the reign of Charles the First ; or by keeping them so long sitting, till a majority of members should be under engagement with the court, as had almost happened in the time of
Charles

Charles the Second? were we not both times upon the very LETTER II.
brink of ruin, and in hazard of being no more a free people? did it not therefore import that party, which had heretofore made such high professions of liberty, to provide that England might be no more threatened with the same danger? should not this have been a main article in our contract with their Majesties upon their accession to the throne?

IF that party which once seemed so jealous of our rights had not abandoned all their old principles, they might have formed us a lasting establishment, such as could not have been shaken by domestic rage or foreign power; but instead of building on these foundations, and taking such measures as had rendered our proceedings safe in their consequences, and not obnoxious to any censure, some persons have given manifest proofs that they were actuated by no sort of principle, and that in their doings they were rather swayed by private interest, revenge, ambition, and other appetites, than guided by any sense of the public good; for we had no sooner upon the throne a prince feared and revered abroad, and idolized here, but some persons immediately forgot the cause for which they called him over.

SUCH, my friend, were the sentiments and observations of a cotemporary, of a man in reputation with all parties for

LETTER II. political wisdom and sagacity. However, it is asserted by a modern author, that previous to the settlement of the crown, the whigs made a strong effort in favour of public liberty; that a committee was appointed by the lower house to draw up the claims of the subject; but that the party were stopped in their career by a message from William, to the following purport—That if they insisted on new limitations, he would leave them to the mercy of James.—This author taxes William with design in the unpardonable neglect of Ireland; and his assertions on this head are authorized by the following observations of Davenant:

THE business of Ireland, at the beginning of the Revolution, is a pregnant instance how much designing men love a long war; that kingdom might have been presently reduced; the nation was dispirited; he who held the government was ready to give up the marks and ensigns of his authority, with the strength depending on it; they were struck with a panic fear, and had readily submitted if, in any reasonable time, a small force had been sent there. It was desired that a few troops might be carried over, to confirm and countenance, and to give our enemies a fair colour for pursuing that course to which they were enough persuaded by their true interest, though they could not modestly acquiesce, unless something had been done which might save appearances: but Ireland was

was for a long time slighted, and the natives were suffered LETTER II.
to gather into a formidable power; that diversion gave our
neighbouring kingdom opportunity to take breath, and time
to recover from the fright and amazement which so potent a
league had brought upon them.

THIS war stood England in five millions one hundred and
twenty-eight thousand six hundred and seventy-two pounds;
but if we come to reckon the burnings, wastes, and depreda-
tion, and the irreparable loss of men, English and Irish, by
sickness and in battle, and the Irish damage redounding to
us at last, it may be safely affirmed, that we are the worse
for that war at least seven millions.

BUT a certain party of men were too busy themselves at
home to mind the nation's foreign concerns; they were
dividing the spoil here; they were hunting after places, and
sharing among one another the dignities and offices of the
state, which took up all their time, and employed all their
care; besides, such an early coalition and union of the whole
strength of the three kingdoms, might have terrified France
too soon, and taken away their hopes of a succeeding war;
which is the crop and harvest of designing ministers, the field
in which they fatten, and a spendthrift to whom they are
stewards without account.

LETTER II.

THUS, my friend, reasons Davenant. But notwithstanding the military mismanagement, or political knavery of William's conduct, on his return from his expedition to Ireland, he found the parliament as complying in the important business of supply, as they had before shewn themselves in matters relating to prerogative.

THE debts of the crown, says Macpherson, since William landed at Torbay, notwithstanding the great supplies received from parliament, amounted to two millions. More than five millions were voted in the present session for the service of the year; that sum, together with the standing revenue, amounted to six millions; besides, a clause of credit at seven per cent. was inserted in the land-tax bill, to answer extraordinary demands; and the whole was imposed on funds, which in the event produced a surplus of near eighty thousand pounds.

NOTHING, in short, was omitted by the Commons which could strengthen the hands of the King; nor did he meet with any considerable parliamentary opposition to any of his measures, however unpopular, till towards the end of his reign, and after the people had paid above thirty millions for their deliverance from popery and slavery. The immense sums of money of which the nation was drained, united to a
selfish

selfish plan of power, little calculated to satisfy the liberal LETTER II.
views of patriotism, co-operating with the several disappointments of individuals, rendered all parties in a manner averse to William's government.

AMONG the individuals who corresponded, and even entered into engagements, with the late King, are to be found the names of Sunderland, Godolphin, Halifax, Marlborough, Ruffel, &c. and almost all those who had acted for and against his government.

ALMOST every year produced a conspiracy, which was the more dangerous because patronized by those who were at the head of William's council; and indeed nothing but a strange concurrence of untoward accidents could have prevented James from re-mounting that throne, which his perverseness and pusillanimity had alone caused him to vacate.

THE nation in general groaned beneath the burthens under which they crouched; parliaments were stigmatized, and but too justly, as partial, venal, and treacherous; till at length the Commons, roused by the spirit of an almost universal discontent, in the year 1697 began to exert that power which the constitution had vested in them to check the dangerous ambition of their King.

WHETHER

LETTER II.

WHETHER William was ignorant on the subject of those nice balances in the different powers of a mixed government, which are necessary to the preservation of civil liberty; or whether, notwithstanding his declarations and pretensions to the contrary, he was as fond of the idol power as his unfortunate predecessor, certain it is, my excellent friend, that an independent revenue, and a standing army, were the two grand objects of this patriotic hero's ambition; and the facility with which the crown had gained every point from the parliament, encouraged the ministry to attempt, at the conclusion of the war, the full gratification of their master's wishes.

IN the speech from the throne, in which the King informed his parliament, that the war into which he had entered, by the advice of his people, was now terminated in its object, an honourable peace: he expressed his sorrow, that his subjects could not find at first that relief from the re-establishment of the public tranquillity, which either he could have wished or they have expected: the funds intended for the preceding year had failed; there was a debt on account of the fleet and the army; the revenues of the crown were anticipated for the public use, and, as himself, the King, said, was wholly destitute of means to support the civil list, he trusted that the parliament would provide for him during
his

his life, in a manner suitable to his honor and the dignity LETTER II.
of his government. The increase of the navy, he added, since his accession to the crown, had proportionably augmented his charge; the interest and reputation of England rendered necessary a great force at sea; the circumstances of affairs abroad were such, that England could not be safe without a land force; and for these obvious reasons, he hoped, his faithful Lords and Commons would not give the enemies of the nation an opportunity to effect, under the notion of a peace, what they could not accomplish by a war.

IN periods when societies are the most degenerated from the primitive virtue of their ancestors, it is not easy to introduce sudden innovations which plainly threaten the ruin of the civil constitution: the King's speech was deemed imprudent, nay, haughty and insolent in its whole strain; and the same parliament, who through every sessions had maintained an uninterrupted complaisance to all the demands of the crown, now almost unanimously rejected those insidious proposals, which would have stripped them of a great part of their constitutional power, and entirely have compleated their unpopularity with the people: instead of those enormous supplies, which had been yearly voted as soon as demanded, it was resolved in the lower house, that a sum not exceeding six hundred thousand pounds, to be raised on the credit of the
exchequer,

LETTER II. exchequer, should be transferred to the supplies of the next sessions of parliament; and in the discussion of that part of the King's speech which related to a standing army, it was resolved, without a division, that all the land forces raised since the twenty-ninth of September, 1680, should be paid and disbanded.

THE firmness of the Commons on this interesting occasion was, my friend, a thunderbolt to the King and the ministry.

BUT in vain did William loudly complain of the ill treatment he had met with. His secretary, the Earl of Sunderland, who was hated by one party for his tyrannical measures in the reign of the late King, and by the other for his treachery to his master, gave up the seals, and retired into the country.

THE Commons proceeded with firmness to regulate the militia; to vote a necessary guard for the sea; to grant a sum, not exceeding seven hundred thousand pounds, for the support of the civil list; to pass a bill against corresponding with the late King and his adherents; and to reconcile the army to the projected reduction, they ordered a gratuity to the common soldiers, and half-pay to such officers as were natural-born subjects of England.

THESE

THESE were among the last acts of a parliament which in many instances had been justly censured for transgressing the bounds of a prudent loyalty, and which had shewn very little moderation in the burthens they had lain on the people. LETTER II.

AN inflexible obstinacy in the pursuit of any favorite point is always supposed, my friend, to be crowned with success; and this maxim was so strictly followed by William, that in his speech to the succeeding parliament, he reiterated all the reasons which he had lately given for the establishing a large standing force; and though he had been granted in the last sessions of the last parliament two millions and seven hundred thousand pounds, for the purpose of paying off arrears, he recommended to the Commons to make a farther progress in the endless business of discharging the debts which he said had been contracted in the war.

As William had formed hopes of finding a new parliament favorable to his views, he had evaded the execution of the act passed for the reduction of the army; and this circumstance, with the continuation of the military establishments in Scotland and Ireland, and his fresh demand for an increase of their number in England, incensed the lower house to such a degree, that, contrary to the usual custom, they voted no address. Seven thousand men were proposed as a suffi-

LETTER II. cient establishment for guards and garrisons; a resolution passed, that all the land forces in England, in English pay, should be forthwith paid and disbanded; and also, all the forces in Ireland, excepting twelve thousand, and these natural-born subjects. In the first enacting clause to the bill which followed these resolutions, it was provided, that the army in England and Wales should, on or before the twenty-sixth of March, be disbanded, except such regiments, troops, and companies, not exceeding seven thousand men, as before the first day of the same month, should be particularly expressed in a proclamation under the great seal; and it was prosecuted with such ardor, that it found a quick passage through both the houses.

THE firm parliamentary opposition which William met with to his favorite measure, together with the current of the public opinion, which ran very high against a standing army, produced alternate fits of resentment and despondency in the King's mind: it is reported, that he sometimes seriously determined to abandon the kingdom; and that a speech was prepared, in which he was to request of the two houses to name such persons as they should think fit to manage the government. These wild resolutions, formed in the alternate fits of passion and despair, the ministry found no difficulty to overcome; and as the report of the intended abandonment
neither

neither alarmed the fears of the people, nor softened the firmness of the parliament, William resolved to comply, with a good grace, with what it would not have been in his power long to have resisted. In the speech he made on the occasion, he told the two houses, that though in the present state of affairs there appeared great hazard in disbanding so large a number of troops, and though he might think himself unkindly treated, in being deprived of those guards who had come along with him from Holland to the aid of England, and who had attended him in all the actions in which he had been engaged, yet, convinced of the fatal consequences which might arise from any jealousies between him and his people, he was resolved, for that reason only, to give way to the bill. LETTER II.

As William in this speech strongly insisted that the nation was left too much exposed, an increase of fifteen thousand men were added to the establishment at sea; but the Commons so pertinaciously adhered to their resolutions, in regard to the land forces, that though the King, in a letter written with his own hand, condescended to assure them that he should construe it into an act of great kindness if, out of consideration to him, they should find means to continue the Dutch guards longer in his service, they refused to listen to his solicitation; and the question being put for the appoint-

LETTER II. ment of a day for taking the King's message into consideration, it was carried in the negative.

WHEN parliaments are not in a humor to gratify every request of the Sovereign, it is always supposed to arise from the want of popularity in his servants. A change of ministry took place before the next meeting; but the opposition William had met with did not stop with the mortifying circumstance of sending away his Dutch guards. Seven commissioners had been appointed by the last parliament to enquire into the state and grants of the forfeited estates in Ireland: a report of the enquiry was now called for; it appeared that three thousand nine hundred and twenty-one persons had been outlawed since the thirteenth of February, 1689; that all the lands belonging to the forfeited persons amounted to more than one million and sixty thousand acres; that the annual rent of these lands amounted to two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds; that some of the lands had been restored to the old proprietors by the articles of Limerick and Galloway, and others by a corrupt reversal of outlawries, and by royal pardons obtained by the favorites of the King; that sixty-five grants and custodiams had passed the great seal of Ireland; and that the most considerable of these grants had been made to persons born in
foreign

foreign countries, who had been all dignified with peerages LETTER II.
in one or other of the two kingdoms.

AFTER the examination of this report, it was resolved unanimously, that a bill should be brought in to apply all forfeitures from the thirteenth of February, 1689, to the use of the public; and a clause was ordered to be inserted for erecting a judicature for determining claims touching the said forfeitures. To secure the success of the bill of resumption, it was called a bill of supply; it was tacked to that of the grants of the year; and the money to be raised by the sale of the lands was appropriated to the discharge of the transport debts, the arrears of officers, the sums due for cloathing, the interest upon tallies, orders, and exchequer bills.

IN the King's answer to the address of the Commons on these resolutions, after having justified himself for shewing favor to such as he said had served him well, he endeavored to dissuade them from their resolution of paying the debts of the nation by the method of resumption. This was so highly resented by the Commons, that they passed a resolution, that whoever had advised the answer to their address, had used the utmost endeavor to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the King and his people; and meeting great opposition in the house of Lords, they threatened an impeachment

LETTER II. ment of the two court favorites, the Earls of Portland and Albemarle, and resolved to address the King that no person, not a native of his dominions, except Prince George of Denmark, should be admitted to his councils either in England or Ireland. William finding that the lower house was determined to pursue, if necessary, harsh means to force him into a compliance, gave up the point in contention, and sent a private message to his friends among the Lords, to suspend their opposition; the bill was immediately passed without amendment; and William, coming suddenly into the house, gave his assent to the act, and prorogued the parliament without any speech from the throne.

THIS refractory assembly was dissolved before the end of the year; and previous to the meeting of a new parliament, Lord Somers (who, though an excellent chancellor, was much disliked by the tories) was dismissed from his office. This great sacrifice did not produce the end for which it was made.

IT is true, the beginning of the sessions carried a favorable aspect; the Commons addressed the King, to assure him that they would support his government, and take such effectual methods, as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England,

England, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the LETTER II. peace of Europe.

ON the question relating to the succession, which was brought on by the death of the Duke of Gloucester, only son to the Princess Anne, the conduct of the party, though not courtly, was constitutional, and agreeable to the principles of true policy. The first resolution which passed on the question was the following: That to preserve the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and to secure the established religion, there was an absolute necessity for making a fresh declaration of the limitation of the crown in the protestant succession; and that provision should be made for the security of the rights and liberties of the subject. And in the committee of the whole house it was further resolved:

THAT all affairs with regard to government, cognisable in the privy council, should be transacted there, and signed by the members:

THAT no person whatsoever, not a native of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or dominions belonging to these kingdoms, or who was not born of English parents beyond the seas, should be capable of receiving any grant from the crown or offices under the King:

THAT

LETTER II. THAT in the event of the crown's descending, or being transferred to a foreigner, the English nation should not be obliged, without the consent of parliament, to enter into any war for the defence of territories not depending on the crown of England; that whosoever should come to the possession of the crown, should join in communion with the church of England; that no pardon should be pleadable to any impeachment of parliament; that no person who should hereafter come to the crown should go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the consent of parliament; that no person who should possess an office under the King, or receive a pension from the crown, should be capable of serving in the house of Commons; that the commissions of the Judges should be rendered permanent, and their salaries ascertained and established; that the Princess Sophia, Duchess Dowager of Hanover, should be declared next in succession to the crown of England, after the reigning King, the Princess of Denmark, and the heirs of their respective bodies; that the farther limitation of the crown should be restricted to the Princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being protestants.

AFTER the Commons had thus forwarded the important business of the succession, they took into consideration the conduct of the crown with regard to foreign powers. On the

the opening the sessions, they had addressed the King to lay before them all the treaties he had concluded with any foreign prince or state since the last war; and when they had received the answer to their general address, they demanded the treaty between England and the States, signed on the third of March, 1677, together with all the renewals of the treaties since that period. LETTER II.

ON the conclusion of the last peace, William had entered into a treaty with the court of France for the division of the Spanish dominions on the decease of the sovereign. Among the competitors to that crown, the Dauphin, who had married the King of Spain's daughter, was to possess in Italy the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuscan shore, and the marquifate of Final, with all the Spanish territories on the French side of the Pyrenées; Spain was to possess the Indies; the sovereignty of the Netherlands was allotted to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; and the dukedom of Milan for the Arch-Duke Charles, the Emperor's second son. The Electoral Prince of Bavaria dying, a new partition treaty took place; the Arch-Duke Charles was placed in the room of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, as heir of the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies; Naples, Sicily, the marquifate of Final, the islands on the Italian shore, and the province of Guipascoc, were to fall to the share of the Dauphin, together

LETTER II. with the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, which their native Prince was appointed to exchange for the duchy of Milan. The contracting powers mutually engaged to keep the treaty a profound secret, during the King of Spain's life; but tho' the negociation was only committed to a few individuals, it was soon laid open to the world; the Spanish embassador at the Hague sent intelligence by a courier to Madrid; the court of Spain took the alarm; the Marquis de Canailes was ordered to represent in England his master's high displeasure at the indignity offered to himself and his crown; he presented to the lords of the regency (for William was at this period in Holland, where he spent all his leisure time, to the great displeasure of the whole English nation) a memorial, in very warm terms, and which concluded with an assurance, that the King of Spain would render manifest to the parliament of England, when that assembly should meet, the just resentment which he, Canailes, now expressed to their Lordships.

WILLIAM's resentment was roused on the receipt of the memorial; he ordered his secretary to signify to the Spanish embassador, that he must depart the kingdom precisely in eighteen days; that in the mean time he must confine himself to his house, and that no writings should be received, either from himself or any of his domestics. In return for the

the indignity, the English ambassador was treated in the same LETTER M.
manner by the court of Madrid. The treaty, however, went on; but the contracting powers were baffled in the execution by the wise conduct of the King of Spain, who, to prevent the division of the empire, nominated by will the Duke of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin, his successor in all his dominions. In the same testamentary act, the right of Anne of Austria, aunt to the King of Spain, and mother to the French King; and the right of the sister of the King of Spain, and mother to the Dauphin, were acknowledged: but to prevent an alarm in Europe at the union of such extensive dominions, the Dauphin's second son, it was said, was called to the throne of Spain; and until this Prince should arrive at Madrid, and attain the age of twenty-one, a council of regency, with the Queen at their head, were nominated for the administration of affairs.

THOUGH in the partition which had been made by the contracting powers, it was obvious, that the ambition of the King of France was more fully gratified by the large extension of his own dominions than by the nomination of his grandson, the Duke of Anjou; yet, foreseeing that a war, which he was by no means in a situation to support, must be the inevitable consequence of adhering to the treaty, (for the courier which, on the demise of the King of Spain, brought

LETTER II. the will to France, had been ordered, in case of a refusal, to proceed to Vienna with a tender of the throne to the Arch-Duke) Lewis wisely dropped his pretensions, and adhered to the letter of the King of Spain's will.

NEITHER the Emperor, the King of England, nor the States of the United Provinces, were at this time in a situation to resent the breach made by Lewis on the treaty of partition, which was justly regarded by the parliament as dangerous and prejudicial to the interest of Great-Britain. In their address to the throne, after a full examination of the treaties, they complained that the last had been huddled up without being laid before the parliament, though then actually fitting, and even without being considered in council. The cession, they said, of Sicily, Naples, several ports in the Mediterranean, the province of Guipascoe, and the duchy of Lorrain, as stipulated in favor of France, was contrary to the pretence of the treaty, namely, the peace and safety of Europe: they insinuated, that the treaty had probably been the cause of the will in favor of the Duke of Anjou, and requested his Majesty to require and admit in all matters of importance the advice of his natural-born subjects, and for that purpose to constitute a council, to whom all such foreign and domestic affairs might be referred.

WILLIAM'S

WILLIAM's great object at this period was to preserve the barrier in Flanders in the hands of the Dutch, and to prevent the Netherlands from being annexed to the crown of France: it was for these reasons that he determined, when favorable circumstances should arise, to quarrel with France, for departing from the second partition treaty: it was on these reasons that the last parliament, whose compliance to the measures of a war the King much doubted, had been abruptly dissolved: it was on these reasons that William, to cajole the present assembly, had filled the vacant offices with several of the high-church party: and it was on these reasons that, smothering his resentment, he shewed no symptoms of displeasure at the conduct of the two houses, but plainly communicated to them all his foreign negotiations, and at the same time insinuated, that they were ineffectual, and near their end. LETTER II.

THE pernicious custom of bribery in elections, which began at the latter end of the reign of Charles the Second, and which had increased with a rapid progress since the revolution, began now to be generally practised: tories and whigs, placemen and patriots, in defiance of law, justice, and common decency, openly and avowedly out-bid each other, and bought votes as men would buy cattle in a common market. In the decision on undue elections, the tories, who were the majority,

LETTER II. majority, strengthened themselves by confirming their own party and rejecting the whigs.

UNLUCKILY for William, both tories and jacobites, with different views and on different reasons, had always been against involving the nation in the disputes between the several princes on the European continent; and it was at this time considered, by those who loved and who understood the interest of their country, as a measure pursued more with a view to secure the seven United Provinces, than as necessary for the security or the aggrandisement of Great-Britain.

IN this temper and disposition of parties the Commons turned a deaf ear to all the King's insinuations, that negotiations were at an end; and requested his Majesty to carry them on in concert with the States-General, at the same time that they promised effectually to enable him to support the treaty concluded with the United Provinces in the year sixteen hundred and seventy-seven: nor did they stop here; but ordered an impeachment against the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Portland, and the Lord Somers, for the hand they had in the partition treaty; for furnishing Kidd, a pirate, with some of the royal ships; and they addressed the King to remove them from his presence and councils for ever.

As

As the Earl of Portland and the Lord Somers were among LETTER II.
the leaders of the whigs, the whole party took the alarm,
and by cabals in the upper house, with the influence of the
court, they produced a counter address from the Lords.

THE disputes between whig and tory were not confined to
the two houses; the former not only attempted to re-kindle
in the minds of the people the desire of war, but endeavored
to incense them against their representatives.

WHATEVER were the views, the principles, or the preju-
dices, which actuated the conduct of the majority in the
lower house, it is certain that they enlarged the constitutional
securities for the liberties of the subject by their limitations
in the act of settlement: it is certain, they defeated the views
of the popish line by fixing the crown in the protestant suc-
cession: and it is as certain, that they were the only parlia-
ment since the Revolution who had preserved the rules of
economy, or even of decency, in the grants made out of
the purses of their constituents.

THAT the omnipotent Disposer and Director of all human
actions and events produces good out of evil, and often ren-
ders the prejudices and vicious affections of his creatures in-
strumental to public and private happiness, is a maxim, my
excellent

LETTER II. excellent friend, no less common than it is true. In this sense all the enlightened lovers of their country must have considered the conduct of the parliament: in this sense they, undoubtedly, gratefully accepted the offered blessing; and left it to the same omnipotent Ruler to judge of the merit of their benefactors.

SUCH, my friend, was not the conduct of the populace: by the insinuation of the whigs, that it was merely an attachment to a system of arbitrary power which provoked the Commons to oppose the measures of the court, and to treat with roughness the King and his ministry, they roused a great part of the nation to a conduct as wild and unjustifiable as it was erroneous and mischievous.

A PETITION, in the name of the gentlemen and freeholders of Kent, was presented to the lower house; and though the nation had contracted a large debt, on account of the long war lately sustained against France, yet the purport of the petition was, the granting the King supplies to enable him to engage in another war; but the Commons were so far from entering into the reasonableness of the request, or countenancing the manner in which it was made, that they voted the petition scandalous, insolent, and seditious, tending to destroy the constitution of parliament, and to subvert the established

blished government: the persons who presented the petition LETTER II.
were delivered over to the custody of a serjeant at arms; and
upon a suspicion of an intended rescue, were committed to
the Gatehouse.

VIOLENT measures always add fuel to the fire of opposition. The imprisonment of the petitioners drew on the Commons fresh insults and mortification: a libel, subscribed Legion, was transmitted to the speaker, in which the Commons were charged with tyranny to the subject, and undutifulness towards the King: the Commons sent up a petition to the throne, in which they complained of the endeavors which had been made to raise tumults among the people, and in which the King was requested to provide effectually, by the exact execution of the laws, for the peace and security of the kingdom.

HAD the two houses been united in one plan of opposition, they might have set at defiance the senseless clamors of the populace; but the court party were successful in gaining a majority among the Lords.

THE Commons, according to the constitutional rule in impeachments, insisted that the Peers whom they had impeached should abstain from voting in the upper house; and

LETTER II. that a committee from each of the houses should meet, to adjust the time, manner, and order in the intended trials. The Lords refused to comply with the demand; they asserted, that as the sole right of judicature was in themselves, they had also the sole right to appoint the time, manner, and order of all trials in impeachments. Two months passed in altercation; at length the Lords appointed a day for the trial. The Commons, to preserve the dignity of their house, refused to appear; and, consequently, the three impeached noblemen were acquitted.

WILLIAM, it must be supposed, highly enjoyed the contest; yet, my friend, he had the prudence to observe a profound silence during the whole dispute. The parliament was prorogued on the twenty-fourth of June, 1701; and he parted in seeming good humor with an assembly, who had thwarted him in his favorite measure, of drawing England in as a party in the broils on the Continent, who had severely arraigned his government, who had sent up impeachments against three of his favorite servants, and who, for this reason, he was determined never to meet again.

THOUGH loaded with much opprobrious abuse from a great part of their constituents, yet the general conduct of this parliament was undoubtedly calculated to prevent the nation
from

from being again engaged as a principal in the ruinous measure of a continental war; they exhibited marks, it is true, strong marks of party prejudice, in the singling out for impeachment two of the whig leaders among the ministry, whilst others, of their own faction, were equally culpable; yet the measure of rendering those individuals responsible, who acted as instruments in transactions found to be destructive of the public wealth, is perfectly constitutional, and a very necessary check to the abuse of the prerogatives vested in the crown.

LETTER II.

WILLIAM had often found advantages from party animosity; his conduct on the present occasion does great honor to his political talents; as he seemed equally indifferent to whig and tory, he gained an influence over both; the tories were now convinced that they could carry no important point against the court; and the whole whig faction, in a similar situation, had often experienced the same importance of power; and the rage of the two parties against each other was heightened from a circumstance which, agreeable to the dictates of wisdom, ought to have had a different effect. The gaining the Sovereign was the object now equally pursued by whig and tory; but to the shame of the whigs it must be confessed, that in this contest they departed more widely from principle than their opponents.

LETTER II.

THIS state of parties convinced William that he had little to apprehend from that aversion which the Commons had shewed to the entering into any foreign treaties, which tended to disturb the peace of the empire. The parliament was no sooner prorogued, than he returned to his beloved retirement at Loo, in Holland; and in this place, where he had carried on all his schemes relative to the preservation of his countrymen, and the humbling the French King, he entered into a treaty with the Emperor and the States-General: the end of this treaty (which was termed the triple, and sometimes the grand alliance) was the recovery of Flanders as a barrier for Holland, and the duchy of Milan as a security for the Emperor; but in some measure to reconcile the people of England to the vast expence they were about to incur for the emolument of others, it was stipulated, that the King of England and the States-General might retain for themselves whatever lands and cities their arms should conquer in both the Indies.

AMONG the lucky incidents which from his birth had attended William, there was none which more opportunely co-operated with the design in hand than the unexpected death of the late King, and the impolitic conduct of the court of France on this event. Either exasperated with the treaty made and concluded at Loo, or in hopes to awe William into
terms

terms of accommodation, Lewis rashly and unadvisedly promised his dying friend, that his demise should be followed with the open acknowledgment of his son as heir of all the British dominions ; though, in the last agonies, James lifted himself up in the bed, to thank his benefactor for this unexpected favor, he died, it is said, in a transport of joy, and the young Prince was solemnly proclaimed Sovereign of all the dominions belonging to the crown of Great-Britain. LETTER II.

THE court party in England, and indeed all the whigs, did not fail to represent this, as it really was, a fresh insult on the independent liberty of the English nation ; the press teemed with opprobrious abuse of the house of Commons, who were stigmatized as personal enemies to the King, and inveterate opposers of all systems of liberty. The people now grew as clamorous for war as they had been before for peace : the reflections of the thinking few were drowned in the public voice, which breathed sentiments of loyalty to the King, and resentment against the court of France. Addresses of the most fulsome kind were transmitted to Holland ; and William, in gracious conformity to the wishes of his people, hastened over to chastise the offending parliament by a dissolution, and to meet an assembly whom he had reason to think would act on a very different principle.

IN

LETTER II. IN the rejection of Sir Thomas Littleton, nominated by the whigs, and the choice of Harley, of the tory party, to be speaker, it appears, that the tory interest still prevailed in the new parliament. Some writers aver, that the whigs obtained the victory over their opponents, and that they obtained it by such open and avowed corruption, that, had not the people been so universally venal and profligate that no sense of shame remained, the victors must have blushed for their success.

A CONJUNCTURE of opinions and circumstances so favorable to his views, was not looked over by the King in his speech to the two houses; he expatiated on the indignity offered by the court of France, to himself and the whole kingdom, in acknowledging the pretended Prince of Wales as King of England; he earnestly recommended to the parliament, to consider what farther effectual means might be used to secure the succession of the crown in the protestant line; he asserted, that the French King, by setting his grandson on the throne, had furnished himself with the means of oppressing all Europe; he enlarged on what England had to fear from the power of the house of Bourbon; and he informed the two houses, that, to obviate the general calamity which threatened Christendom, he had concluded several alliances, according to the encouragement which had been
given

given him by the last parliament; he observed, that the eyes LETTER II.
of all Europe were fixed on the deliberations of the present
assembly; and that matters of the highest importance were
at a stand, till their resolutions should be known: they had
now an opportunity, he said, to secure for themselves, and
for their posterity, the quiet enjoyment of their religion and
liberty; an opportunity which, if they should neglect, they
had no reason to hope for another.

ON these reasons, he demanded supplies for a great strength
at sea, and a force at land, proportionable to that of their
allies; he pressed the Commons to support the public cre-
dit, which could not be preserved without keeping sacred
that maxim, that those who trust to a parliament security shall
never be losers: he asserted, that he never asked aids from his
people without regret; that what he now desired was for their
own safety and honor: he promised, that their grants should
be solely appropriated to the purposes for which they were
intended; and, if desired, the accounts should be yearly sub-
mitted to the inspection of parliament: he earnestly recom-
mended dispatch in the business of supplies; together with
good bills for employing the poor, encouraging trade, and
suppressing vice: he was filled, he said, with a pleasing hope
that they were come together determined to avoid disputes
and differences, and to act with a hearty concurrence for pro-
moting

LETTER II. moting the common cause: he should think it as great a blessing as could befall the people of England, if they were as much inclined to lay aside those fatal animosities which divided and weakened them, as he was disposed to make all his subjects safe and easy: as to any, even the highest, offences committed against his own person, he conjured them to disappoint their enemies by their unanimity: said, he was desirous to be the common father of all his people; repeated his wishes that they would lay aside parties and divisions, so as that no distinctions should be heard amongst them, but of those who were friends to the protestant religion and present establishment, and of those who wished for a popish Prince and a French government; and concluded his speech by affirming, that if they did in good earnest desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and be at the head of the protestant interest, it would appear by their improving the present opportunity.

THIS artful harangue, which does so much honor to William's understanding, as it flattered the current of popular inclination, which at this time ran high, for humbling the pride and disappointing the ambition of the French King; as it particularly flattered the whigs, in breathing those sentiments of liberty which, they pretended, were the actuating principles of their party; as it recommended to the two
houses

houses the passing of bills founded on the principles of humanity and good policy; and as the royal speaker affected to be solely influenced by tender sentiments of parental regard for his people, so often pretended, and so seldom felt by Kings, it was received with universal applause; and was so greatly admired by the whigs, that they printed it, with decorations, in the English, French, and Dutch languages; they placed it as a piece of rare furniture in their houses, and called it the King's last legacy to his own and to all protestant people. LETTER II.

WILLIAM now, for the first time, placed his whole confidence in the whigs. Sir Charles Hedges was dismissed from the office of secretary of state, and the Lord Godolphin from the treasury; they were succeeded by the Earls of Manchester and Carlisle.

THE whigs were now animated with the desire of shewing the King, that the party were not insensible to royal favor, and the advantages he might expect from placing power in their hands: And

THE tories were dismayed with the popular odium they had incurred by their conduct in the last parliament.

LETTER II. IN this temper of parties, it is no wonder that the court measures were unanimously adopted by the two houses.

THE Lords presented a warm and affectionate address; in which they expressed their resentment of the proceedings of the French King, in owning the pretended Prince of Wales for King of England; and in which they assured his Majesty, they would assist him, to the utmost of their power, against all his enemies; and when it should please God to deprive them of his Majesty's protection, that they would vigorously assist and defend, against the pretended Prince of Wales and all other pretenders whatsoever, every person and persons who had right to succeed to the crown of England, by virtue of the acts of parliament for establishing and limiting the succession.

THE Commons followed the example of the Lords, who, to come more closely to the point, sent up another address, in which they stigmatized the French monarch as a violator of treaties; declared their opinion, that his Majesty, his subjects, and allies, could never be safe and secure, until the house of Austria should be restored to their rights, and the invader of the Spanish monarchy brought to reason; in which they assured the King, that no time should be lost, nor any thing wanting on their parts, which might answer the reasonable

sonable expectations of their friends abroad, not doubting but LETTER II.
to support the reputation of the English name, engaged under so great a Prince, in the glorious cause of vindicating the liberty of Europe.

WHEN the copies of the treaties and conventions were laid before the Commons, they met with universal approbation. A large supply, without one dissenting voice, was immediately voted: the throne was addressed, that no peace should be concluded with France, till reparation should be made to the King and the nation, for his owning and declaring the pretended Prince of Wales, King of England. This address was followed with a bill for the attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales; and another for the further security of his Majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the protestant line.

IN the treaty of peace which William had concluded with the French King, he had bound himself to the payment of fifty thousand pounds a year, for the support of James's Queen, on the pretence that Lewis had not complied with a secret article in the treaty, respecting the removal of the late King to St. Germain's; the annuity was never paid; and now the Lords, in the heat of their zeal, passed a bill for the attainder of this unfortunate Princess: it was, however, neg-

LETTER II. lected by the lower house, where the tory party, in exerting all their strength, carried the rejection of a bill for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and swearing to the King and his heirs, by the title of rightful and lawful King. Another bill of abjuration, which included an obligation to maintain the government in King, Lords, and Commons, and to maintain the church of England, together with a toleration for dissenters, and which was to be obligatory on all persons who enjoyed employments in the church and state, was carried by the majority of one voice only.

THE bill met with the same opposition from the tories in the upper house as it had met with from the Commons; and when, after long debates, it had with difficulty passed, ten Lords entered a protest against it, as an unnecessary and severe imposition.

THIS was not the only struggle which, during this session, was made by the party: they complained of the petitions and addresses which had reflected on the proceedings of the last house of Commons, and particularly of the Kentish petition; and they complained that the Lords had denied the Commons justice in the matter of the late impeachments. Warm debates ensued; it was, however, carried by a small majority, that justice had not been denied; and it was determined

terminated to be the undoubted right of the people of England, to petition or address the King, for the calling, sitting, or dissolving of parliaments, and for the redressing of grievances; and that every subject under any accusation, either by impeachment or otherwise, had a right to be brought to a speedy trial. LETTER II.

IN the case of a controverted election at Maidstone, between Blisse and Culpepper, both parties, forgetting for a time their animosity, joined to assert the authority and defend the privileges of the house: it was resolved, that Culpepper had been not only guilty of corrupt, scandalous, and indirect practices, in endeavoring to procure himself to be elected a burges, but likewise being one of the instruments in promoting and presenting the scandalous, insolent, and seditious petition, commonly called the Kentish petition, to the last house of Commons, was guilty of promoting a scandalous, villainous, and groundless reflection upon that house, by aspersing the members with receiving French money, or being in the interest of France. It was ordered that Culpepper, for this offence, should be committed to Newgate, and be prosecuted by the attorney-general.

IT was also resolved, that to assert that the house of Commons is not the only representative of the Commons of England,

LETTER II. land, tends to the subversion of the rights and privileges of the house of Commons, and the fundamental constitution of the government of this kingdom :

THAT to assert that the house of Commons have no power of commitment, but of their own members, tends to the subversion of the constitution of the house of Commons :

THAT to print or publish any books or libels reflecting on the proceedings of the house of Commons, or any members thereof, for or relating to his service therein, is a high violation of the rights and privileges of the house of Commons.

WHILST the Commons were thus vindicating their authority, from the inroads of popular resentment, and the Tories making feeble efforts to defend their conduct, and justify their principles, the business of the court went on without interruption. It was resolved, that the proportion of land forces, to act in conjunction with the allies, should be forty thousand men ; and forty thousand seamen were voted to be maintained for the service of the ensuing year.

WILLIAM, after long struggles, had now gained a complete victory over the weakness and the wickedness of faction ; but, like his predecessor, Charles the Second, he was snatched
away

away by the unrelenting arm of death, in the hour of triumph and success. His health, it is said, had been declining for above a year; a circumstance which, instead of abating his ardor for war, occasioned him to redouble his efforts to engage England beyond the power of a retreat. LETTER II.

To prevent any interruption to the conclusion of the grand alliance, all intelligence of his real situation was carefully concealed from the people, and reports of his recovery industriously spread; though in a weak and languishing state, he still continued the diversion of hunting, and in this exercise got a fall from his horse, by which he broke his collar bone, and by which, it is thought, he accelerated the hour of his death: however, seven days after this accident, the Gazette declared, in express terms, that the King was recovered. On the same day a message was sent to both houses, concerning a union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland; and the bill for attainting the pretended Prince of Wales was passed by commission: this was the last act of William in his political capacity. Two days after, his asthma increased, and feverish symptoms appeared; he languished six days, and died about five in the morning on Sunday the eighth of March, seventeen hundred and two.

THOSE passions and prejudices, my excellent friend, which divided the opinions of mankind on the character and conduct
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LETTER II. of William during his life, were, if possible, increased after his death ; and it is at this time a question among parties, Whether he was the saviour and deliverer of England, or the subverter of all the sound principles which remained in the constitution ?

A CHANGE in the succession, and this on the freest principles of freedom, it must be owned, my friend, was a great point obtained for the people. The crown was no longer regarded as private property, nor the right of one family to govern, except by a few political bigots, respected as sacred and unalienable. The people, instead of being considered as beasts of burthen, and live stock on a farm, transferable from father to son, were now looked up to as the only legal source of sovereign authority ; and it was confessed, that the same laws which limited the privileges of the subject, limited the prerogative of the Prince.

BUT if, my friend, we allow, on the one side, that it was an important advantage to destroy the prejudices and break the fetters which the wickedness of priests had rivetted on the minds of the people, it must also be acknowledged, on the other, that there was no one article in the declarations of rights which had not been recognized by former princes ; and if the alteration of the succession deprived the sovereign
of

of that reverence, which ignorance in all ages hath paid to the hereditary line, the influence arising from the disposal of an immense revenue had, even in William's time, given more permanence and extension to the power of the crown, than hereditary princes had derived from the notion of unalienable, indefeasible right. It is always found in experience, that if common sense will not, natural feeling will often operate against the strongest prejudices of education. LETTER II.

IN considering the question, whether, upon the whole, the revolution was advantageous or disadvantageous to the liberties of the empire, it must be remembered, that the change in the system of foreign politics, which took place after the succession of William, involved these kingdoms in connexions, wars, and debts, which, as it has been often foreboded, so it may now be pronounced, must end in universal calamity.

IT was to support this system of politics, that a parliamentary sanction was obtained for that unconstitutional engine of despotism, a standing army; and it was to support this system of politics, that all the increased powers of corruption were employed in a manner totally to destroy all principle, and debauch the manners of the whole people.

LETTER II.

WHAT have we in us that resemble the old whigs? (says Double, in Davenant's humorous character of a modern whig) They hated arbitrary government; we have been all along for a standing army: they desired triennial parliaments, and that trials for treason might be better regulated; and it is notorious, that we opposed both these bills: they were for calling corrupt ministers to an account; we have ever countenanced and protected corruption to the utmost of our power: they were frugal for the nation, and careful how they loaded the people with taxes; we have squandered away their money, as if there could be no end of England's treasure; in our administration every body did what seemed good in his own eyes; we troubled no man with calling him to an account; the accounts of the army, navy, customs, and excise, are not yet made up; there are upwards of twenty-five millions of the people's money unaccounted for to this day; under our ministry, all the officers who handled the King's business or revenue lived in clover, and every little scoundrel got an estate.

IN the continuation of this conversation, Mr. Double informs his friend, Whiglove, of the arts which were put in practice by the party to inflame the nation with resentment against the refractory parliament, and with the desire of war: the picture, though strongly drawn, is but too just a description

tion of the conduct of the party, and the wretched profligacy of the times : and I am sure, my friend, you will agree with me, that no advantages we gained by the revolution can be equivalent to the subversion of all principle in a body of men, whose virtue and resolution had more than once saved the constitution against the combined powers of church and state. LETTER II.

CANDOR must acknowledge, that the total corruption of whig principle reflects as much dishonour on the Sovereign as it does on the party. But without entering into a minute description of the conduct and character of William, we will, my friend, compare his opportunities, with the use he made of them ; and we shall in some measure be enabled to judge, whether public good or private interest, virtue or ambition, had the strongest influence over his mind.

PLACED at the head of his native country, as the last hopes of his safety from a foreign yoke, and raised to the throne of England, under the name of her deliverer from civil tyranny and religious persecution, it must be acknowledged, that fortune did her utmost towards exalting her favorite, William, to the first rank of respectable characters ; but the great authority which this Prince obtained over the Dutch, on the merit of preserving them from the yoke of France, he in many instances used in a manner inconsistent with the rights

LETTER II. of a free state; and, instead of establishing their republican liberty on a permanent basis, he laid the foundation for that monarchial power, which is to this day exercised by his successors.

SUCCESS, which ever enlarges the noble mind, shrunk William's to all the littleness of vulgar character. When raised to imperial dignity by the efforts of the whigs, for the generous purpose of enlarging and securing liberty, he abandoned his benefactors, and entered into dishonest intrigues with the tories, in order to increase the influence and extend the power of the crown; nor did he ever quarrel with these avowed enemies to civil and religious freedom, till they opposed measures which tended to the manifest disadvantage, if not to the ruin of their country.

AMBITIOUS of being considered as the arbiter of the fate of Europe, and anxious for the safety and prosperity of the Dutch, William ruined the finances of England, by engaging her in two long and expensive wars. By the means of profuse and extensive bribery, he obtained from the Commons what Charles the Second could never obtain from the wickedest parliament with which England had been ever cursed, namely, a standing army, and a landed debt; a circumstance which rendered our deliverer so tenacious of corrupt influence, that
he

he twice refused his assent to a bill for triennial parliaments, and never would give his consent to an act for limiting the number of placemen and pensioners. LETTER II.

I HAVE now related to you, my friend, the remarkable parts of the policy and conduct of William after his accession to the throne of England; and I believe you will not find it a difficult matter to determine the questions, Whether public good or private interest, virtue or ambition, had the strongest influence over his mind? and, whether he was the saviour and deliverer of this country, or the subverter of the remaining sound principles he found in the constitution?

I am, &c. &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R I I I .

LETTER III. **T**HE National Debt, my friend, and the introduction of the funds in this country, has proved a wheel of such importance in the state-machine, and has so powerful an influence over the manners and liberties of the people of Great-Britain, that it will be necessary to enter into a detail of the rise, the progress, and the nature of this diabolical engine, which has long threatened to put a final end to the prosperity of our country, before I proceed in my narrative of the government of the next reign.

THOUGH it is not probable that any pre-existing assembly should have foreseen all the inconveniencies which have arisen from

from the practice of borrowing and funding, or that future parliaments would run such senseless lengths in practices which, from the beginning, threatened formidable consequences; yet the borrowing money on public credit, on the reason that it would introduce a prodigality in the management of the public concerns, was a measure too ruinous even for the corrupt parliaments in Charles the Second's time to comply with. LETTER III.

JAMES the Second, my friend, with all his faults, was a frugal Prince: the revenue settled by parliament on his first coming to the throne was more than sufficient to defray the expences of his government; therefore, that bold stroke of policy, which delivered up the purse and the credit of the nation into the hands of the Prince, was reserved for the immortal William, and his whig partizans.

WHEN the Prince of Orange, says a cotemporary writer, was raised to the throne, and a general war began in these parts of Europe, the King, and his counsellors, thought it would be ill policy to commence his reign with heavy taxes on the people, who had lived long in ease and plenty, and might be apt to think their deliverance too dearly bought; and money being wanted to support the war, which even the
convention

LETTER III. convention which put the crown on his head were very unwilling he should engage in, Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, is said to have proposed the expedient, which he had learned in Holland, of raising money on the security of taxes, which were only sufficient to pay a large interest.

BURNET, my friend, was not the only person whom the Dutch school of financing had rendered proficient in the certain way of ruining the independence of the people. As I observed before, the same expedient, on the same authority, was proposed to Charles the Second; but neither the art nor the influence of that Prince could carry the fatal point, even with a very venal and corrupt parliament; but, says our author, the motives which prevailed on the people at this time to fall in with the project were many and plausible; for supposing, as the ministers industriously gave out, that the war could not last above one or two campaigns at most, it might be carried on with very moderate taxes, and the debts accruing would, in process of time, be easily cleared after a peace; then the bait of large interest would draw in a great number of those whose money, by the dangers and difficulties of trade, lay dead upon their hands; and whoever were lenders to the government would by surest principle be obliged to support it; besides, the men of estates could not be persuaded, without time and difficulty, to have those taxes laid
on

on their lands, which custom hath since made so familiar ; LETTER III.
and it was the business of such as were then in power to cultivate a monied interest, because the gentry of the kingdom did not relish those notions in government to which the King, who had imbibed his politics in his own country, was thought to give too much way.

WHEN this expedient of anticipations and mortgages was first put in practice, artful men in office and credit began to consider what uses it might be applied to, and soon found it was likely to prove the most fruitful seminary, not only to establish a faction they intended to set up for their own support, but likewise to raise vast wealth for themselves in particular, who were to be the managers and directors in it.

IT was manifest that nothing could promote these two designs so much, as burthening the nation with debts, and giving encouragement to lenders ; for as to the first, it was not to be doubted that monied men would be always firm to the party of those who advised the borrowing upon such good security, and with such exorbitant premiums and interest, and every new sum lent took away as much power from the landed men, as it added to their's : so that the deeper the kingdom was engaged, it was still the better for them. Thus a new estate and property sprung up in the hands of mort-

LETTER III. gagees, to whom every house and foot of land in the kingdom paid a rent charge free of all taxes and defalcations, and purchased at less than half the value ; so that the gentlemen of estates in effect were but tenants to these new landlords, many of whom were able in time to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of those who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants: this was arrived to such a height, that a very few years more of war and funds would have clearly cast the balance on the monied side.

As to the second, this project of borrowing on funds was of mighty advantage to those who were the managers of it, as well as to their friends and dependants ; for funds proving often deficient, the government was obliged to strike tallies for making up the rest, which tallies were sometimes (to speak in the merchants' phrase) at about forty per cent. discount ; at this price those who were in the secret bought them up, and then took care to have that deficiency supplied in the next session of parliament, by which they doubled their principle in a few months ; and for the encouragement of lenders, every new project of lotteries or annuities proposed some further advantage either as to interest or premium.

THE pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds, my friend, necessarily produced a brood of usurers, brokers, and

and stock-jobbers, who preyed upon the vitals of their country; and from this fruitful source, venality overspread the land; corruption, which under the government of bad Princes had maintained a partial influence in the administration of public affairs, from the period of the revolution, was gradually formed into a system, and instead of being regarded with abhorrence, and severely punished, as in former times, received the countenance of the whole legislature; and every individual began openly to buy and sell his interest in his country, without either the fear of shame or penalty. In addition to this national evil, all the sources of justice were so grossly polluted by the partiality of party, that every misdemeanor of a public nature escaped both censure and punishment; whig and tory reciprocally lending their assistance to the cause, to protect the individuals of their party from the just resentment of their country, and the prosecution of the adverse faction.

MARY, the consort of William, died of the small-pox a few years before her husband; and this was the unhappy state of the times when Anne, Princess of Denmark, the eldest surviving daughter of James the Second, mounted the throne.

LETTER III. ANNE is allowed by all parties to have been a woman of an excellent heart; but her genius and understanding were so very inferior to the weighty task of a government, where the welfare and prosperity of the nation depend entirely on the virtue and good sense of the Prince, that it was hardly sufficient for the purposes of private life.

THERE are not six characters among the human race, my friend, which have been found equal to princely power. A wisdom in any degree proportioned to imperial dignity perceives the difficulty of the task, and the mind is filled with an awful timidity, which the habit and exercise of government can alone diminish. And it is an observation founded on the authority of general experience, that the ambition for arbitrary sway increases in proportion to the incapability of exercising regal trust.

INCLINATION to power was no less prevalent in the Queen's character, than in those of her predecessors; and a circumstance of an accidental nature co-operated with the declared principles of the tories, to tincture her mind with a strong prejudice in their favor. From a jealousy natural in crowned heads to the heir apparent, she had been treated very ill by the late King and Queen. On her refusing to dismiss the Lady Marlborough from her service, a quarrel had
arisen

arisen to such a height between the two sisters, that all friendly correspondence between them ceased ; and during the Princess's abode at Bath, usual ceremonies were omitted by the express orders of the court. LETTER III.

THE whigs, who were taken into favor towards the close of the last reign, were too good courtiers not to follow strictly the example and direction of their Majesties ; but the tories, looking forward for power to the reign of a Princess who had early imbibed the high principles of the church party, pursued an opposite conduct, and by their influence in parliament had procured her an independent settlement of one hundred thousand pounds.

No sooner had death transferred the sceptre from the hands of William to the Princess Anne, than the whigs endeavored, by their earnest assiduities, to make up for former deficiencies. Anne mounted the throne, to the apparent satisfaction of all parties ; and, according to the usual fortune of new sovereigns, amidst the clamorous applauses of the multitude.

THE first measure of the new Queen was to put the administration of public affairs into the hands of her favorites, the tories : the Lords Somers and Halifax, together with other leaders of the whigs, were excluded from the new privy council,

LETTER III. council, and their places supplied with eminent tories : the Marquis of Normandy, remarkable for his attachment to hereditary right, was raised to the office of Lord Privy Seal ; and the staff of Lord High Treasurer of England was put into the hands of the Earl of Godolphin.

As the tories in their writings, speeches, and votes in parliament, had on very substantial grounds, shewn a great averfeness to the entering into new offensive and defensive alliances, which might involve the nation in the heavy expence of a second war, the death of William, and the exclusion of the whig ministry, gave a high alarm to the United Provinces ; but they were soon relieved from their anxiety by the arrival of the Earl of Marlborough, with full assurances that the Queen would maintain the alliances which had been concluded by the late King, and act in all things agreeable to the common interest of Europe.

You are, my friend, sufficiently acquainted with the nature of regal governments, to know, that the highest concerns of great societies depend entirely on the ambition, the caprice, and self-interest of individuals. England had already paid immense sums to gratify the martial disposition of William, and his passionate desire to humble the French King in his own way. The aspiring genius of another hero
was

was now to be gratified at a much larger expence, and the real interest of the nation sacrificed to the raising one family to the utmost height of worldly prosperity. The Earl of Marlborough was a personal favorite of James the Second; had been raised by that monarch from the station of a page of the back stairs to the dignity of a peer; and his wife, the Lady Churchill, placed about the person of the Princess Anne. Lady Churchill, whose disposition was both artful and imperious, had made such use of her opportunities, as to gain the most absolute influence over the ductile mind of the Princess.

THE present opportunity was too favorable not to be embraced with eagerness by the Churchill family. The Lord Churchill, who had been created Earl of Marlborough by the late King, and, the last year of that monarch's life, had been gratified with the command of the troops sent to the assistance of the states, was now to be placed at the head of the English armies. The new war in which William had engaged the nation was to be prosecuted with vigor, and the sacrifice of their principles and opinions were exacted of the tories, before they were admitted to power, and the emoluments of office.

By

LETTER III. BY virtue of an act passed in the late reign, the parliament continued to sit after the King's death. Seven days after her accession, the Queen went to the House of Peers with the usual solemnity, and in her speech to the two houses declared it her opinion, that too much could not be done for the encouragement of their allies, in humbling the power of France: she observed to the commons, that the revenue for defraying the expences of the civil government was expired; told them she relied entirely on their affection, for its being supplied in such a manner as should be most suitable to the honor and dignity of the crown; added, that her heart was entirely English; and, according to the example of her father, made large professions of her concurrence in all things which should be for the happiness and prosperity of England, and that the parliament should always find her a strict and religious observer of her word.

THE whigs had the mortification to see their rivals in possession of all the lucrative advantages which they expected from the war; but they could not, without exposing themselves to the highest censure, oppose a sovereign who discovered an eagerness to adhere to their avowed system of policy. The business recommended from the throne was prosecuted by the commons with a shew of unanimity and zeal; and as both parties were too earnestly engaged in the pursuit of their
several

several views to attend to the real concerns of their country, LETTER III.
they settled upon her Majesty, during life, the revenue possessed
by the late King for the support of the civil government.

WHEN the Queen came to the house of Lords to give the
royal assent to the act for the establishing her own revenue,
she told the two houses, that though the funds for the civil
list might greatly fall short of what they formerly produced,
she would give directions that one hundred thousand pounds
of her own revenue should be applied to the public service of
the year.

GOOD, and even plausible, actions of princes are returned
with such a measure of praise and admiration, that I have of-
ten wondered, my friend, that such encouragements should
not even incline a bad heart, in these exalted stations, to af-
ford sometimes a colour of sincerity to their flatterers. This
was, undoubtedly, a generous act in the Queen; and, had it
been followed with a just œconomy in the affairs of govern-
ment, would have rendered her reign a real blessing to her
country. It did not fail of its reward; it was trumpeted up
as one of the highest acts of magnanimity which had been
ever shewn by a crowned head, and the people had some rea-
son to be pleased with the commencement of the reign; for
as provisions had been already made for the eventual expence

LETTER II. of the war, this was almost the only session of parliament since the revolution which had passed without a heavy burthen of taxes laid on the people.

THE tories and high churchmen, having now gained a compleat victory over their adversaries, pursued their advantages with an indecent triumph. The whigs were openly accused of aiming at the establishment of a commonwealth; and even the late King, who was as little of a commonwealth's man as any prince of his time, was involved in this censure. A book, reflecting on Charles the First, by a vote of both houses, was declared to be a scandalous and villainous libel, which tended to the subversion of monarchy; as such it was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The nonsensical doctrine of a divine and indefeasible right was canted in the pulpits, and founded in the two houses of parliament; and hardly any vestiges remained of the revolution but an additional load of taxes, and the large increase of corruption and venality it produced in the nation.

WHILE the constitution, my friend, was thus relapsing into a paroxysm of despotism, and the friends of liberty harassed by the envenomed shafts of their political enemies, great preparations were making by the ministry for an active campaign.

WHEN

WHEN the business of the intended war against France LETTER III. was first debated in the privy council, the Earl of Rochester, maternal uncle to the Queen, it is said, proposed that the English nation should only engage in the measures of the allies as auxiliaries; and that the chief weight of the war ought to rest on those who had most to fear from the power of France. This, my friend, you will allow was a rational proposal, and did honor to the judgment and integrity of the Earl; however, it was vehemently opposed by the Earl of Marlborough; a majority of the council, though composed of tories, yielded to the inclinations of the favorite; their resolutions were communicated the same day to the Commons, and war was declared in form two days after.

ONE of the first acts of the Queen, after her accession, had been, to confer the order of the Garter on her favorite, the Earl of Marlborough; to appoint him Captain-general of all the forces to be employed by her, in conjunction with the troops of the allies; and to dispatch him to Holland in the character of ambassador extraordinary to the States.

THE measures now pursued with such vehemence by the court, had been determined on in the space of a few days that the Earl continued in Holland. On assurances that the Queen would look on the interests of England and the United

LETTER III. Provinces as inseparable, the States had agreed to all the proposals of the favorite; they raised him to the chief command of their forces; the several allies had promised with alacrity to furnish their quotas; and every thing was actually preparing for a vigorous and active campaign. The plan of operations had been so nicely concerted between the court of Vienna, the court of England, and the States-General, that their several declarations of war were published in one day. In the Queen's proclamation, the King of France was taxed with the having seized the greater part of the Spanish dominions, with designing to invade the liberties of Europe, to obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce, and with the having offered an unpardonable insult to the Queen and kingdom, by taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

As England did not pretend to lay claim to any part of the Spanish or French dominions, nor had sustained any real injury, or serious provocation from the King of France, the declared end of the war was to put the house of Austria in the possession of the throne of Spain, and to procure a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands.

THUS, before the nation had been able to recover itself in any manner from the ruin of an expensive war in Ireland and
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on the Continent, England was again involved as a principal LETTER III.
in a war, which, as its object was the wresting a whole kingdom from the possession of a powerful family, threatened the being long, expensive, and bloody; and this for the sole emolument and advantage of other states, and the idle pretence of fixing a balance of power, which, in all probability, would have been better settled had she not interfered; but if such interference was judicious, or necessary, had she only acted as an auxiliary, by lending a small number of her land forces while she carried on her great operations by her naval power, she would have been amply repaid by the seizure of places necessary to the extending her commerce and marine empire.

THIS, my friend, was the conduct of an assembly whom, notwithstanding the load of popular prejudice they have unjustly incurred, I shall ever venerate as true patriots, as men who understood and religiously pursued the interest of their country, and who, in the space of five years, at a very inconsiderable expence, raised the dignity and enlarged the power and commerce of England beyond the services of all the princes who had ever sat on her throne.

WHEN the Earl of Marlborough arrived in Holland, the Earl of Athlone, in quality of Veldt Marchall, insisted upon an equal command with the English general, but the States obliged

LETTER III. obliged him to yield the point ; they declared Marlborough generalissimo of all their forces. The success of the campaign, which began in July, 1702, answered the warmest expectations of the advocates for war : the Earl of Marlborough, at the head of above sixty thousand men, obliged the Duke of Burgundy, who commanded the French army, to retire before him, and leave Spanish Guelderland at his discretion : the town and castle of Werk, after a slight resistance, surrendered to a detached party of his army, commanded by General Schultz ; Venlo capitulated twenty-five days after the commencement of the siege ; Ruremonde was reduced after an obstinate defence. Boufflers, now at the head of the French troops, retired, first to Liege, afterwards to Tonguen, and from thence to Brabant ; the confederate army followed, and took Liege by assault ; Violani, the governor, and the Duke of Charest, were taken prisoners ; and three hundred thousand florins, in gold and silver, were found in the citadel, besides notes for above one million, drawn upon substantial merchants in Liege ; the garrison of the Choitieux capitulated on honorable terms, and were conducted to Antwerp.

AT the same time that the French were attacked in Flanders by the confederate army, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough, they were obliged to defend themselves
on

on the Rhine against the Imperial army under Lewis, Prince of Baden; and in Italy, against another body of Imperialists, under the command of Prince Eugene, of Savoy. Wisdom in council, and activity in action, were not the characters of the Imperial court. For want of recruits and reinforcements, Prince Eugene could not prevent the Duke of Vendome from relieving Mantua, and was obliged to relinquish several other places he had taken. LETTER III.

THE French made themselves masters of Newburgh, in the circle of Suabia; they were divided into bodies, commanded by the Marquis de Villars, and the Count de Guiscard. Prince Lewis, of Baden, fearing he should be enclosed by the enemy, made haste to decamp: Villars passed the Rhine to fall upon him in his retreat; an obstinate engagement ensued; the Imperialists, overpowered by numbers, after having lost two thousand men, abandoned the field of battle to the enemy, together with all their baggage, artillery, and ammunition, and retired to Stauffer.

THE success which the French armies met with in Italy, and on the Rhine, greatly heightened the reputation of the Earl of Marlborough, who, in the beginning of the onset, had given so severe a mortification to the Duke of Burgundy, that he returned to Versailles, and left the command of the King's

LETTER III. King's troops to Boufflers. Before the end of the campaign, a detachment of the allied army, under the command of the Prince of Hesse Cassel, took from the French the towns of Zinch, Lintz, Brisac, and Andernach.

AT sea, the combined squadrons of the Dutch and English, having received intelligence that the Spanish galleons from the West-Indies had put into Vigo, under the convoy of a French squadron, made sail to that port: though the passage into the harbour is narrow, and was well secured by batteries, forts, breastworks, &c. yet the enemy being attacked with judgment and spirit, after a very vigorous engagement, was driven to the extremity of destroying their ships and galleons to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy; eight ships, and as many advice-boats, were sacrificed to this dreadful necessity; ten ships of war were taken, and eleven galleons, with riches to the amount of seven millions of pieces of eight, in plate and valuable commodities. Sir George Rook, who commanded the naval force of England, gained great reputation by this exploit, which was more than a compensation for an ineffectual attempt which had been made to reduce Cadiz. When the attempt was made on this town, the allies published a declaration, in which they asserted, that they did not come as enemies to Spain, but as friends, to free them from the yoke of France, and to assist them

them in the establishing themselves under the benign government of the house of Austria; but having taken possession of fort St. Catherine and port St. Mary, instead of acting agreeably to the said declaration, the English troops, both private men and officers, in defiance to strict orders issued by their commander, the Duke of Ormond, plundered the helpless inhabitants, and raised among them such a spirit of resistance, that the enemy were stopped in their progress, and obliged to re-embark.

LETTER III.

SIR John Munden, who had put to sea with twelve men of war to intercept a French squadron appointed as a convoy to a new Viceroy of Mexico from Corunna to the West-Indies, chased fourteen sail of French ships into Corunna; but finding the place strongly fortified, and, moreover, that it was defended by seventeen of the enemy's ships, abandoned the enterprize, and returned into port; for which piece of discretion, or cowardice, he was tried by a court martial, and, though acquitted, was dismissed the service.

ADMIRAL Benbow, a very brave, honest, and experienced officer, but of a very rough and boisterous temper, was defeated in an engagement with a squadron of ten ships, under the command of Du Casse, by the treachery of his own officers: in boarding the French Admiral, poor Benbow lost his

LETTER III. leg, and received several wounds in his body, which, with the agitation of mind his disappointment occasioned, threw him into a fever, which put a period to his life; but not before he had given a commission for a court martial to try the offending officers; one of them died before his trial, two of them were sentenced to be shot, and a fourth was cashiered and imprisoned.

NOTWITHSTANDING these disasters, on an element where it is our own fault if we are not invincible, the general success of the campaign put the nation and both houses of parliament into great good humour. The continuance of the parliament, in being at the King's death, was limited to six months; and though, my friend, you will agree with me, that they had shewn a very sufficient compliance to the measures, yet they were dissolved before the expiration of that term. In the succeeding assembly, the tory interest, through the influence of the court, predominated highly.

THE Queen, according to the custom which had prevailed in almost every session of parliament through the whole reign of her predecessor, complained that the funds assigned by their predecessors had not produced the sums granted by a large deficiency, and demanded very liberal supplies for the carrying on the war.

BOTH

BOTH houses warmly congratulated her Majesty on the success of her arms; but the Commons paid a more particular court, by complimenting her favorite at the expence of the late King. The progress of her arms in Flanders under the Earl of Marlborough, they said, had signally retrieved the ancient honor and glory of the English nation. On the same day they resolved that forty thousand seamen should be employed for the service of the year ensuing, and that the English proportion of land forces, to act in conjunction with the allies, should likewise be forty thousand. A supply of twelve hundred thousand pounds, including fifty thousand pounds for subsidies for her Majesty's allies, were unanimously and cheerfully voted. The public entertained themselves with bonfires for the signal successes of our arms; and the Queen went in state to St. Paul's, attended by the Peers and Commons, to return thanks on the same occasion. LETTER III.

WITH an equal alacrity with which they had granted the supplies, the parliament complimented the Queen with settling on her consort, the Prince of Denmark, should he happen to survive her Majesty, the yearly sum of one hundred thousand pounds.

THIS, my friend, was undoubtedly a very solid mark of affection, and it was very properly tempered by the refusing

LETTER III. to comply with an ill-judged demand in favor of the Earl of Marlborough.

A FEW days after the arrival of this favorite, which was in the end of November, the Queen informed the council that she intended to raise him to the rank of a Duke; and about the same time she sent a message to the Commons, to request them to settle upon him and his heirs, for ever, five thousand pounds a year, which she had granted him out of the post-office during her own life.

THE Commons, though they had complimented the favorite with sending a committee of their house to present him with their thanks for his great and signal services, yet they had the prudence to inform the Queen that they could not comply with a precedent to alienate the revenue of the crown. On this unexpected opposition, the Duke intreated the Queen to withdraw her message; yet the Commons took the opportunity of sending up an address to her Majesty, in which they complained, that the revenue of the crown had been too much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the last reign to bear any further diminution.

THIS step of the Commons, my friend, was followed by several bills, which, if they had not apparently proceeded from

from the peevishness and prejudices of party, would have done the assembly great honour. A motion of Sir Edward Seymour, for leave to bring in a bill for resuming all grants made by King William, was carried by a great majority; whilst another, made by Mr. Walpole, that grants made in the reign of King James should have the same fate, was as triumphantly carried in the negative. LETTER III.

AN order passed for bringing in a bill to prevent all persons to be members of the house of Commons except such as should be found to have real estates; but this very necessary resolution was frustrated by the peevish or interested opposition of the Lords; whilst the bill of resumption, on the same ground of interest, was afterwards dropped by the same party who had carried the motion for its being introduced.

THE villainy of defrauding the public in every kind of contract or office was so complicated and general, that a commission for receiving and examining the public accounts had been granted in both the reigns without effect. Thus, through the heat of party, and the lucre of private gain, the public was always defrauded of that justice which is due from every kind of government to the people.

LETTER III.

FORTY thousand landmen, my friend, was a pretty large body of troops for England to maintain in a quarrel which was not primarily her own; yet, it seems, it was not thought competent by her allies to the occasion, or to her strength and eagerness for war; and before the session was at an end, the house of Commons were given to understand, that the States-General had pressed the Queen to augment her forces, as the only means to render ineffectual the great and early preparations of the enemy. On this extraordinary demand, the Commons without hesitation resolved, that ten thousand men should be hired as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the allies; but to this instance of their complaisance they tacked a necessary condition, that an immediate stop should be put to all commerce and correspondence with France and Spain on the part of the States-General. The Dutch, who on no considerations ever neglect their mercantile interest, even after the declaration of war, had carried on a traffic with the French; though this, their capital enemy, would have found it impossible to make remittances of money to the Elector of Bavaria in Germany, and to his forces in Italy, except through the channel of English, Dutch, and Geneva merchants.

THE campaign of 1703 opened with great advantage to the allies in confederacy against the house of Bourbon. The
Duke

Duke of Savoy, on terms of great advantage, had united his arms to the fortune of France, yet he was always jealous of the power of that monarchy; and as the French King was not at present in a situation to gratify further his ambition, he deserted his interest, and concluded a treaty with the Emperor.

LETTER III.

PORTUGAL, the old ally of France, began also to dread the power of the house of Bourbon, lest the claims of the Spanish crown on the crown of Portugal should be renewed by the same family who had formerly supported them against the house of Austria. These reasons, together with the offer of a union with Prince Charles, the Emperor's second son, in whose favor the Emperor and his eldest son had renounced the crown of Spain, prevailed on Portugal to desert likewise the arms of France, and to join the grand alliance. Notwithstanding this additional strength, the campaign of the year 1703 was, upon the whole, favorable to the house of Bourbon. The progress of the Elector of Bavaria, in the heart of Germany, reduced the house of Austria to great straits, whilst at the same time an insurrection in Hungary, arising from a barbarous and ill-timed persecution of the protestants, distracted the councils of the Emperor, and diverted his forces to other purposes than the carrying on the war with vigor.

SOME

LETTER III. SOME towns were taken by the allies in Flanders; but they failed in their attempts on the strong lines formed by the enemy for the protection of Flanders: they lost some trophies in the field in the only action of consequence which happened in the campaign; and they neglected to take advantage of an insurrection of the protestants in the Cevennes, who had taken up arms to defend themselves against the severities of that incorrigible bigot, Lewis the Fourteenth, who had already severely suffered for the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

FROM the same bigotted, ill-timed severity, the Emperor Leopold was so little able to give any assistance towards the carrying on the war, that he was obliged to apply, through Count Wratislaw, his envoy-extraordinary at the court of London, for assistance, to defend his own dominions against the power of the insurgents, who had possessed themselves of several important places, and had offered their aid to the enemy.

THE interest of religion, my friend, though always the pretence used for carrying on ambitious views, is always deserted when it interferes with the real motive for action. The pretence on which the English were engaged in this expensive war, was the securing the protestant religion against the power of
of

of Bourbon; yet in the last year the protestants in the Cevennes received no assistance from the allied protestant army of Dutch and English. A resolution was taken by the English court to disengage the Emperor from his embarrassment, and thus to enable him to oppress his protestant subjects at pleasure. Agreeable to this resolution the plan of operations was entirely altered; a small number of forces were left to protect the frontiers of the states in Flanders, and the several allied armies were, in the year 1704, assembled in Germany. LETTER III.

IN the beginning of the year the Duke of Marlborough visited Holland, to settle this new plan of operations with the States. In May the allied army of Dutch and English crossed the Rhine at Coblentz, and at Mandelsheim were met by Prince Eugene of Savoy; when, advancing towards the Danube, they were joined by the Imperialists at Westerstetten, and from thence marched to Brentz, and fixed their camp within two leagues of the Elector of Bavaria's army.

ON the second of July they forced the enemy's intrenchments at Donawert, and passed the Danube without resistance; but they were incapable, for want of magazines, either to continue long on the banks of that river, or to penetrate into Bavaria: a battle therefore could alone save them the mortification of retreating, without the having gained one important point.

LETTER III. For the enemy to hazard an engagement in such circumstances was very injudicious; and the Elector was guilty of a great oversight in forming the line of battle: his army lay encamped with the Danube on their right, whilst their left was covered with a thick wood, from which ran a rivulet along their front into the Danube: this rivulet, as it passed through the plain formed a morass, which rendered the pass difficult to the enemy: instead of taking advantage of this circumstance, when the Elector perceived that the Duke of Marlborough was preparing to give battle, he formed his line at a considerable distance from the morass, and threw twenty-eight battalions of foot and eight squadrons of dragoons into the village of Blenheim, and eight battalions of foot into Lutzingen, a village situated towards the centre of the army: it was designed that these parties should fall upon the rear of the enemy when they had passed the brook, and so place them between two fires; but such a design could not take place against a general of equal abilities to the Duke of Marlborough: by the injudicious arrangement of the army in opposition, he had full opportunity to pass the brook without interruption, and perceiving that the line of the enemy, consisting chiefly of cavalry, was considerably weakened by large detachments, he ordered the villages to be attacked by the infantry, and himself led the cavalry against the French horse, commanded by Marechal de Tallard; whilst Prince Eugene, who

who commanded on the right, attacked the Elector of Bavaria, and the Marechal de Marzin. After several charges the courage of the French horse began to abate; they were at length totally subdued, and drove into the Danube, where most of those who had escaped the sword were drowned: ten battalions of foot were at the same time charged on all sides and cut to pieces. The horse, led by the Elector of Bavaria and the Marechal de Marzin, for a considerable time stood their ground against the repeated attacks of Prince Eugene; at length, intimidated with the slaughter of their friends, they threw themselves into three squadrons, and quitted the field with such dexterity and regularity, that it would have been in their power either to have recovered, or at least to have saved the detached parties, by falling on the flank of the enemy, deeply engaged in pillaging Count Tallard's camp; but terror prevailing in their minds, they neglected the opportunity; and the twenty-eight battalions of foot, and eight squadrons of dragoons, surrendered at discretion: those stationed at Lutzingen found means to escape in the confusion.

THE loss of the French and Bavarians in this battle amounted to near one half of their army; they lost their camp, their equipage, their baggage, and artillery; Marechal de Tallard was taken prisoner; the Elector of Bavaria was reduced to the necessity of deserting his country, and flying

LETTER III. with the remains of the routed army to the Rhine, where he joined the Marechal de Villeroi, and retreating with this general, took shelter within the confines of France.

By the desertion of the Elector of Bavaria, his conquests and dominions fell into the hands of the Emperor, who severely revenged the excesses which had been committed against his own subjects: his allies, the confederate army, re-crossed the Rhine, entered Alsace, and before the end of the year made themselves masters of Landau and Trearbach.

THE campaign in Flanders was merely defensive, and produced no important event.

THE King of Portugal, failing in his attempt to invade Castile, was driven back into his own territories by the Duke of Berwick; while the King of Spain, with better success, at the head of a Spanish and French army, invaded Portugal, and took several places from the enemy.

THE campaign in Italy proved upon the whole favorable for the house of Bourbon.

THE Emperor's ally, the Duke of Modena, was deprived of his dominions by the French army under the command
of

of Vendome: on the other side, the Duke of Mirandola, the ally of France, was as ill treated by the Imperialists; but in the duchy of Mantua, victory declared herself in favor of the house of Bourbon; they stormed the castle of Sura and the city of Pignerol in June; the city of Vercelli surrendered in July; in September, the city, the citadel, and the castle of Yvrea, fell into the hands of Vendome; and the campaign was closed by the taking of Senfano, on the twenty-fifth of November.

LETTER III.

IN the first week in May, 1706, the Duke of Marlborough took the field, and having previously concerted measures with the States-General, he marched through the country of Limburgh, crossed the Moselle and the Saar, from thence proceeded to the defile of Taveren, and advanced to Elft. On the approach of the confederate army the enemy retired to Sirk, in the neighborhood of Coningfmacheren; they amounted to the number of seventy thousand, and were under the command of the Marechal de Villars. Villars very judiciously avoided the engaging with an army who were in the habit of conquering; he occupied a strong camp at Sirk, and in this place was determined to remain on the defensive.

No incident could be more mortifying to the ambition of the Duke of Marlborough: Prince Lewis of Baden, envious
of

LETTER III. of the reputation he had acquired, feigned himself sick, and disappointed him of the assistance of the Imperialists: thus, through the prudence of one general, and the ill humor of another, he was effectually disappointed in the design of improving the victories of the preceding campaign, by carrying the war by the Moselle into the heart of France.

WHILST the Duke of Marlborough, in hourly expectation of the arrival of the Imperial forces, remained inactive on the Moselle, the French troops, under the Elector of Bavaria and the Marechal de Villeroi, pushed the advantage which the superiority of numbers gave them in the Netherlands; they invested Huy, and after the surrender of this town, on the tenth of June, the two generals marched with the whole army to Liege.

THE States, alarmed at the progress of the enemy, sent a letter to the Duke, in which they informed him of the necessity there was, either to make a powerful diversion on the Moselle, or to return and oppose the enemy in the Netherlands. The Duke did not hesitate long on what steps it was proper to take: the delay of the German troops rendered his design on Saar Lewis abortive; the difficulty was great of subsisting an army in a ruined country; and to attack an enemy superior in numbers in an inaccessible camp, impracticable.

HAVING

HAVING taken the precaution to decamp in the night, he LETTER III.
fortunately repassed the dangerous défile of Taveren without
molestation, and directing his march towards Liege, he was
joined by the Dutch forces, under Overkirk.

THE presence of the Duke of Marlborough gave an entire
change to affairs in the Netherlands: Huy was re-taken on
the twelfth of July; and the enemy, abandoning their design
upon Liege, retired with precipitation behind their lines.

The Duke of Marlborough burned with the desire of re-
trieving, with some enterprize of consequence, the glory lost
by the prior inactivity of the campaign; but the enemy,
whom experience had taught wisdom, equally dreaded a con-
test, which, if unsuccessful, was big with the most fatal con-
sequences. When they perceived that the English general
was preparing to attack them, they drew their armies toge-
ther, and left only small detachments to guard their lines, in
hopes of dividing them. The Duke commanded the Dutch
to pass the Mehaigne on the left, whilst he prepared to attack
the enemy on the right: the feint made by the Dutch suc-
ceeded; the enemy were attacked, first by the Duke of Marl-
borough, and then by the whole army; for the Dutch sud-
denly faced about, and their barriers on the right were forced
before the generals were apprised of the design.

ON

LETTER III. ON perceiving his mistake, the Elector of Bavaria commanded the left wing of his cavalry to march to prevent the enemy from forcing the barriers, whilst himself followed with the infantry. It was now too late; the enemy had already forced the barriers and formed within the lines; a fierce shock ensued; the Bavarian cavalry were defeated, and the infantry at length gave way; ten battalions retired in such good order, that they not only defended themselves from the attacks of the enemy, but protected, as they retreated, their flying friends.

No event of consequence followed this victory: the French and Bavarians retired behind the Dyle: the Duke of Marlborough would have attempted to force their entrenchments; but being opposed by the Dutch general, Scha-
langenburgh, and other officers, the States deputies refused to concur, and the rest of the campaign passed over without any movement of importance.

THE Marechal de Villars, seizing the opportunity which the absence of the English troops afforded him, besieged and took Hamburg, and passed the Rhine at Strasburgh; but Prince Lewis of Baden, who was now recovered of his indisposition, put himself at the head of the Imperial army, and not only obliged the French to retire, but following the enemy,

my, forced their lines at Haganau, and reduced the towns of Drusenheim and Haganau. LETTER III.

As usual, the war in Italy languished on the side of the Emperor: Villa Franca fell into the hands of the French: in March, the town and port of Nice, by which the Duke of Savoy could alone receive succours by sea, was taken; Vefue surrendered in April, after an obstinate siege of six months; the allies under Prince Eugene were repulsed by the French army commanded by the Duke de Vendome; and the Duke of Savoy was obliged to shut himself up in Turin, without any prospect of relief.

Whilst various and different successes attended the opposing powers in Germany, Flanders, and Italy, the house of Bourbon were on the point of losing the dominions in contest.

FIVE thousand troops, under the joint command of the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, sailed from St. Helen's in the end of May, and arrived in the port of Lisbon about the middle of June; at Lisbon they were joined by a squadron of Dutch under Admiral Allemonde, and reinforced with a body of horse from the Earl of Galway's army in Portugal; and having thus collected a considerable force,

LETTER III. they took the Arch-Duke Charles on board, and failing first to Gibraltar, directed their course from thence to Catalonia.

SPAIN was not in a condition to resist an armament of such force; its arrival spread terror and confusion through the whole country; the fortresses of Lerida and Tortosa were delivered into the hands of the Arch-Duke without a blow; Barcelona was forced to capitulate; and almost the whole kingdom of Valencia, and the province of Catalonia, submitted to the power of the invaders.

ON the approach of winter, the fleet of the confederates retired from the coast of Spain; but the Arch-Duke, who had now taken upon him the title of King of Spain, attended with the land forces of the allies, took up his quarters in the heart of the kingdom.

THE frontiers of Spain, on the side of Portugal, had been invaded early in the spring, and several principal towns in the provinces of Beyro and Alentejo had fallen into the hands of the enemy; but the invaders having undertaken the siege of Badajox, met with a repulse, and were driven back into Portugal.

DURING

DURING the course of the campaign, the Emperor Leopold died: this prince was a bigot in religion, and entirely governed by his priests, whose ill councils ran him into great difficulties and dangers. It was the severity of his persecutions, which first provoked the Hungarians to assist the Turks in a war against their sovereign; and it was the repetition of the same persecutions, that raised new commotions in Hungary; which, in conjunction with the revolt of the Elector of Bavaria, would have brought on his entire ruin, had he not been relieved from his great distress by the treasure and blood of the English. LETTER III.

IN the character of this Emperor, Burnet, my friend, makes the following reflection: "It could not but be observed by
" all protestants, how much the ill influence of the popish
" religion appeared in this monarch, who was one of the
" mildest and most virtuous princes of the age; since cruelty
" in matters of religion had a full course under him, though
" it was as contrary to his natural temper as it was to his
" interest."

LEOPOLD was succeeded by his son Joseph in his hereditary and elective dignities: ambition and bigotry were as apparent in this Prince as in the rest of his predecessors. The accession of the Spanish throne, the increase of the Imperial

LETTER III power on the ruins of the authority of the German princes, and the total reduction of the insurgents in Hungary in order to repeat oppression, were objects more warmly pursued by Joseph than by his father; and in these pious designs he was warmly assisted by the good people of England: however, to save appearances, it was given out, that Joseph intended to correct the errors of his father's government, and that he had promised to the ministers of the Queen, and the States, that he would offer all reasonable terms to the Hungarians.

THE Duke of Marlborough, who was regarded as the favor of the German empire, and the guardian deity of the house of Austria, in consequence of a pressing invitation from Joseph, visited the Imperial court, before his return to England: in the rout he was magnificently entertained by the Elector Palatine, and the Magistracy of Franckfort; and at Vienna was received with very substantial marks of distinction; he was created a Prince of the Empire, and presented with a grant of the Lordship of Mindleheim, in Suabia, which was erected into a principality.

THE advancing to these high honors a favorite of the English court, was no mean policy in the Emperor, who was so destitute of the means to carry on his ambitious projects, that he could not even furnish his part of the forces employed
by

by the allies against the common enemy; however, it was LETTER III. promised by the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Sunderland, his son-in-law, in the character of envoy-extraordinary, that all deficiencies should be made up by the court of England; and the States-General, who were too much interested in the war not to be governed by the vigorous councils of the Duke of Marlborough, consented to join England in maintaining an additional body of ten thousand men, as a reinforcement to the army of Prince Eugene in Italy; and the winter was spent by the several allies in the making great preparations to renew the summer's campaign with redoubled vigor.

HAD the French generals continued to act with the same prudence and caution they observed in the two preceding campaigns, all the mighty preparations of the enemy would have evaporated in the same fruitless expence; but, unfortunately for France, different councils and different resolutions prevailed.

THE Mârechal de Villeroi, either in obedience to the orders of the French court, or from an impatience natural to constitutional courage, issuing from the lines he had formed behind the Dyle, in Flanders, advanced to Tirlemont, and from thence, without waiting for the arrival of the Elector of Bavaria,,

LETTER III. Bavaria, proceeded to Ramilies: at Ramilies he met the united armies of the allies; both sides suddenly formed in order of battle.

The left wing of the French army was covered with the Geete, and an impassable morass running along its banks; their right with the village of Tavieres, on the banks of the Mehaigne; and the village of Ramilies, situated on a plain near the source of the Geete, stood at a small distance before their centre.

THE advantage of his situation rendered the Marechal more than a match for the superiority of numbers in the enemy; but deceived with the same device which had been practised with success the last campaign, he thinned the left, where the attack was really intended, to strengthen the right, where it was impracticable. In the midst of that confusion which this injudicious alteration occasioned, the Duke began the attack; the English infantry fell on the centre of the enemy, whilst Overkirk, with the Dutch foot, attacked the right wing: the French troops in the centre made a gallant resistance to the attack of the English infantry; but being at length charged by the whole body of the English army, horse and foot, in the front, and at the same time by the Danish cavalry in the flank, they gave way in such disorder, that

that the horse abandoning the foot, with which they were interlined, the latter were all cut all to pieces. LETTER III.

EIGHT battalions which de Villeroi had placed in Ramilies, when they perceived the main body driven from the field, endeavored to retreat toward the right; but they were attacked by the enemy's cavalry, before they could put themselves in a proper posture of defence, and several were killed, and the rest dispersed; the left wing gave way before the Dutch; and thus, in less than a quarter of an hour, eighty thousand of the French troops were put to an intire rout, and a compleat victory remained to the allies, who left no more than three thousand dead on the field, and took of spoils one hundred pieces of cannon and a great quantity of baggage, together with all the trophies of war.

THE total conquest of Brabant, and almost all Spanish Flanders, was the immediate consequence of the victory; Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Mechlin, Alost, Ghent, and Oudenarde, surrendered without firing a gun; Ostend was obliged to capitulate; Menin surrendered, after an obstinate resistance; and the sieges of Dendermonde and Ath, which were taken successively, concluded the operations of the campaign.

THE

LETTER III. THE French and Spaniards, taking advantage of the absence of the English fleet, laid siege to Barcelona, where the Arch-Duke had taken up his head-quarters; but when the town was on the point of being stormed, an English fleet, superior to the enemy, appeared on the coast, and the Comte de Thoulouse, commander of the French fleet, precipitately retired in the night: this reinforcement of troops being thrown into Barcelona, the King of Spain and the Marechal de Tesse, who had shut up the town by land with an army of twenty thousand men, raised the siege in confusion; when the English, taking advantage of the consternation of the enemy, which was greatly heightened by a sudden darkness from an almost total eclipse of the sun, pursued them with slaughter. Philip, who had abandoned his camp, his provisions, his cannon, with all the implements of war, to the possession of his competitor, after taking a circuit with his broken and ruined army through a part of the dominions of France, returned to Madrid.

THESE were not all the disgraces and mortifications sustained by this unfortunate monarch on the side of Portugal. The combined armies of English and Portuguese, under the joint command of the Earl of Galway and the Marquis de Las Minus, entered Estramadura, took Alcantara, forced Ciudad, Rodrigo Salamanca, and the post of Espinar, and then directed

rected their march to Madrid. Philip, who was in no condition to withstand so powerful an army, abandoned his capital, and removed the Queen and the court to Burgos. The English and the Portuguese entered Madrid in triumph; and, to complete the successes of the campaign, the English fleet at this period secured Carthagená, which had declared for the Arch-Duke. LETTER III.

It was at this period in the power of the allies to obtain the grand object of this destructive and expensive war, by transferring the crown of Spain from the house of Bourbon to the house of Austria; but whilst the Arch-Duke remained inactive at Barcelona, the English and Portuguese loitered away their time in the midst of debauchery at Madrid. Thus the Spaniards, who abhorred the thoughts of having a King imposed on them by heretics, had time to recover from their consternation; and Philip, who had raised an army superior to the enemy, marched to Madrid, obliged the allies to retire, and became re-possest of his capital. Galway and Las Minas, having joined the Arch-Duke, they passed into the kingdom of Valencia, and disposed their quarters in such a manner as to cover the kingdoms of Arragon and Catalonia, and maintain a free entrance into Castile; but before the end of the campaign, Carthagená was retaken by the Duke of Berwick.

LETTER III. THE year 1706, my friend, was a year of accumulated losses and disgraces to the house of Bourbon. In Italy, Prince Eugene, who commanded the Imperial army on the frontiers of Venice, after having passed several rivers and many defiles without meeting with any opposition, in the first week in September arrived in the neighbourhood of Turin: here he was joined by the Duke of Savoy; and the two commanders, when united, found themselves strong enough to attack the enemy, who, having reduced the garrison to great distress for want of ammunition, were on the point of becoming masters of the capital of Savoy. The Duke of Orleans, and the Marechal de Marzin were suddenly attacked in their entrenchments, and after an obstinate contest for two hours, the enemy entered their camp, drove them from the field, and took all their cannon, mortars, heavy baggage, ammunition, and implements employed in the siege: the Marechal de Marzin was killed in the engagement; the Duke of Orleans was wounded; and, in consequence of the entire rout of the French army, the Modenese, the Mantuans, the Milanese, Piedmont, and ultimately the kingdom of Naples, were lost to the house of Bourbon. In Germany, where the Imperialists were left to fight their own battles, the French were able to maintain a contest, which they had found unequal in Spain, Flanders, and Italy.

THE Marechal de Villars, with a well-appointed army, LETTER III.
found himself superior to the Prince of Baden, who was ill supported by the court of Vienna; he recovered all that had been lost in the preceding campaign; and had the court of Versailles been in a situation to strengthen, instead of weakening their army in Germany, by detachments, such was the languor and inferiority of the enemy, that Villars might have penetrated into the heart of Germany, and, with the assistance of the Hungarians, have besieged the Emperor in his capital.

THUS, my friend, I have related to you all the capital military actions of the English and their allies in Germany, Flanders, Italy, and Spain, during the first five years of the war. I do not know how you will taste the arrangement of the matter; but I am sure you will approve of the brevity of the detail; and that I have not teased you with perplexed and confused descriptions of battles, seldom understood by the writer, and never by the reader, even when the great master of the military science, Julius Cæsar, condescends to relate his wonderful exploits in Gaul; and when the pen of Julius, my friend, cannot instruct us in the manner in which his victories were achieved, is it not a contemptible vanity in historians to waste their time, and, what is yet worse, the patience of their readers, in long and minute relations of military ac-

LETTER III. tions, which they would not have understood had they been on the spot on which they were fought, and which are only descriptions detailed from one ignorant writer to another?— But to return to my narrative:

WHILST England was engaged in this expensive and unnatural war on the Continent, her navy was shamefully neglected, her trade was unprotected, and the merchants, with reason, complained of frequent and great seizures made by the enemy.

IT was the sad necessity of raising and supporting a land army to defend themselves against the cruel combination of the courts of France and England, which had reduced the freedom of the Dutch, and raised the power and the importance of the house of Orange. In addition to these considerations, William was extravagantly fond of the character of a great general; he either was, or affected to be, entirely ignorant of naval affairs; moreover, it was not the interest of the Dutch that England should be the mistress of the sea; and during the whole administration of our great deliverer, her maritime strength was either wasted in ineffectual exertions, or suffered to decay for want of support and attention: at the same time every opportunity was taken to introduce an unconstitutional military establishment.

THE

THE empire of the sea, my friend, is attended with such LETTER III.
important commercial advantages, and is so strong a security against the ambition and insolence of foreign enemies, that it is impossible that any sovereigns can be mistaken in this grand point of policy; but where a people, through idleness, ignorance, and corruption, pay no attention to the concerns of the public, and leave the important interests of society to the care of individuals, these important interests will ever be sacrificed to the lusts of those individuals: this, in a very peculiar manner, has for many centuries been the fortune of England.

ON the accession of Queen Anne, the whole management of the sea department was put under the care of her husband, the Prince of Denmark, who had the title of Lord High Admiral, and a council was appointed to assist him. The legality of this, says Burnet, was much questioned; for it was a new court, which could not be authorised to act, but by an act of parliament; yet the respect paid the Queen prevented this being made a public question, so that objections to it never went beyond a secret murmur. I shall not, my friend, in this place animadvert on the folly of that complaisance, which innovates into the prescribed rules of government; and how dangerous are all precedents, which in monarchies weaken the limitations laid on prerogative: I shall only here
relate

LETTER III. relate the consequence which at this time attended the respectful conduct of the public : Prince George was a man of a very indolent disposition, of little or no judgment in the business confided to his care, good natured, and easy to be imposed on : it was not the interest of those who managed the war, that laurels should be gathered at sea ; all the naval expeditions, therefore, were ill planned ; from the avarice of contractors, the fleets were ill and sparingly victualled ; from the want of judgment in the Lord High Admiral, they were worse officered, and the commanders so ill suited to each other in their dispositions, that the service frequently suffered from their quarrels, and want of agreement. The taking of Gibraltar, the subjection of Majorca and Ivica to the dominion of the Arch-Duke, the transporting troops to Spain, the reduction of Barcelona, the raising that siege, and the conducting Prince Charles with great pomp to Portugal, were all the mighty exploits, my friend, performed by the fleet in the last four years of the war. But if we made small progress at sea, it must be owned, we figured away on the land : the whole strength of the war lay on the side of England ; we subsisted those who would not fight their own battles without pay ; we supported armies in Portugal, in Italy, in Spain, in Germany, and in Flanders ; we had at one time near sixty thousand men in the field ; we had the high honor of acting on the principles of self-denial ; and, whilst we
were

were gaining and conferring dominions on princes, of modestly
contenting ourselves, for the expence of above thirteen mil-
lions of specie, besides damage in trade, with bonfires, te-
deums, shoutings, and other similar tokens of triumph and
success.

LETTER III.

WHILST the two houses of parliament were almost unani-
mous in the lavish grants they made to the crown, for the
purpose of settling the affairs of Europe, the spirit of party
exercised itself on the subject of religious toleration.

THE strict union formed in the days of Charles the First,
between the partizans for tyranny in the church, and the par-
tizans for tyranny in the state, continued through the reigns of
his several successors to the present times: this union conse-
quently formed a similar attachment between the dissenters and
the party who pretended to oppose the tories on the principles
of liberty; and as religion is the subject the most proper to
rouse the fiery zeal of the populace, each party, when in
disgrace with the sovereign, availed themselves of this cir-
cumstance, to raise the clamors of the multitude against the
administration: the cry that the church was in danger always
signified the power of the whigs; and, on the contrary, when
the tories were in office, the protestant religion, and the blef-
sed fruits of the revolution, on the point of being lost, by
attempts

LETTER III. attempts to defeat the Hanover succession, were arguments urged in the two houses, and repeated by every pamphleteer who had lifted himself on the side of opposition to government.

DURING the first five years of Queen Anne's reign, repeated attempts were made to bring in a bill against the occasional conformity of the dissenters, for the purpose of enjoying offices in the state: it several times passed the Commons with little opposition, but was always rejected by the upper house, where the whig interest at this time prevailed; nor was religious toleration the only object of dispute between the two subordinate parts of the legislature.

FIVE inhabitants of the borough of Aylesbury brought their actions against White, the mayor of the corporation, for having refused to receive their votes in the election of members to serve in parliament: the Commons ordered these men to be committed to Newgate, for a breach of privilege; the prisoners brought their habeas corpus into the Queen's-bench: the Lord Chief Justice Holt declared it as his opinion, that neither house of parliament, nor both jointly, without the concurrence of the sovereign, had any power or right to dispose of the liberty and property of the subject: the Chief Justice might have carried his argument farther, and declared, that

that not all the combined powers of government have a right LETTER III.
to act in opposition to the established rules of the constitution:
however, his opinion was opposed by his brethren on the
bench; the prisoners were remanded to prison; and the Com-
mons, not content with their invidious exertion of power
in the first instance, on two of the prisoners petitioning for
a writ of error to bring the matter before the Lords, ad-
dressed the Queen not to grant the writ; voted, that all those
who were either concerned in managing the writs of habeas
corpus, or in procuring the writ of error, were disturbers of
the public peace, and enemies of the privileges of the Com-
mons of England; ordered the four counsellors, who had
pleaded for the men of Aylesbury at the bar of the Queen's-
bench, to be taken into custody; and sent their serjeant at
arms at midnight, with every circumstance of severity and
terror, to remove the prisoners from Newgate.

THESE exertions of power, even when the Commons de-
fended the liberties of the people against the encroachments
of the crown, were ever disagreeable to the people, and, at
best, regarded as necessary evils; but as this once-popular
assembly no longer acted as faithful guardians of the public
liberty and property, and began to be considered by all think-
ing men as a very oppressive and expensive part of the govern-
ment, these exertions were more generally abhorred than the

LETTER III. most unwarrantable stretches of prerogative: and the reason is plain. Whilst the representatives of the people act on the principles of constitutional equity, the people have a legal resource against all abuses in the administration of the government; but when the government is corrupt, and tainted in its popular part, the people have no remedy but an appeal by the sword, or a recourse to the dangerous shelter which the prerogative affords.

THE Lords, out of a spirit of opposition to the Commons, at this time took the part of the people; and in their proceedings on a petition from the injured parties, came to the following resolutions:

First, That neither house of parliament have any power to create new privileges inconsistent with the known laws and customs of parliament:

Secondly, Every subject of England who thinks himself injured, has a right to seek redress by an action at law; and that the house of Commons, in committing the men of Aylesbury, have encroached on the constitution of the kingdom, by pretending to give to their own declarations the force of an established law:

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That every Englishman who is imprisoned by any authority whatsoever, has a right to apply for, and to obtain his habeas corpus; and that the Commons, in encroaching by their animadversions on this undoubted right, have made a breach in the statutes provided for the liberty of the subject. LETTER III.

IN consequence of these resolutions, the Lords granted two writs of habeas corpus, returnable before the Lord Keeper, in behalf of two of the council for the men of Aylesbury.

THE Lords' resolutions were followed with counter resolutions by the Commons; and these counter resolutions with commands to the serjeant at arms to make no return, or yield any obedience to the writs; and at the same time, the Lord Keeper was acquainted, that the writs should be superceded, as contrary to law, and to the privileges of the Commons of England.

ON these proceedings of the Commons, the upper house demanded a free conference; the conference proved ineffectual; the Lords solicited the Queen to give orders for the immediate issuing of the writs; but the Queen thought it more expedient to put an end to the dispute by an immediate prorogation.

LETTER III. THIS business, which produced such warm altercation between the Lords and Commons, began at the close of the last sessions. The Lords, on appeal in a cause between Ashby and the same mayor of Aylesbury, had given judgment in favor of the prosecutor. The Commons, already exasperated against the Lords for flinging out the bill against occasional conformity, and for their opposition on other matters of party, were grown enraged with this interference in matters of election, and disputes threatened to run high: the Queen had recourse to the expedient of a prorogation; and in her speech on the occasion, she recommended unanimity as necessary to the success of the nation abroad, and their safety and happiness at home.

WHILST the factious squabbles between whig and tory, high church and low, distracted and divided the nation, the measures of administration were carried without interruption in parliament; the supplies were voted unanimously; and the great favorite, the Duke of Marlborough, besides the large emoluments of his office, and the presents received from foreign states, had the additional gratification of the honor and manor of Woodstock, and hundred of Wooten. This was attained in a manner the most pleasing to the Duke's ambition; for the Commons, having ordered a committee of their body to wait on him with their thanks for the success

cess of his late negotiations in the cabinet, as well as for his LETTER III.
victories in the field, appointed a day for considering his services, and then addressed her Majesty to find means to perpetuate their memory. The Queen acquainted them, that she intended to grant to the Duke and his heirs the interest of the crown in the fore-mentioned honor and manor; and she desired the assistance of the house in clearing from incumbrance the lieutenancy and rangerhip of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manor and hundreds, which had been already given away for two lives. The Queen's request was immediately complied with; a bill was brought in, to the purport of her message, and it passed both houses without opposition.

THE Queen followed this act of generosity, which indeed was at the expence of the public, with one which affected the body of the clergy in general; and as it was given out of the revenue of the crown, carried with it the appearance of real munificence.

FIRST fruits, and tenths, says Burnet, bishop of Sarum, was an imposition begun by the Popes, in the time of the holy wars, as a fund to support these expeditions: but when taxes are once raised, and the payments have been settled into a custom, they are always continued, even after the pretences
for

LETTER III. for which they were raised subsists no more: so this became a standing branch of the papal power, till Henry the Eighth seemed resolved to take it away; it was first abolished for a year, probably to draw in the clergy to consent the more willingly to a change; but in the succeeding session of parliament, this revenue was again settled as part of the income of the crown for ever: it is true, it was the more easily borne, because the rates were still at their old value, which in some places was not the tenth, and in some places not above the fifth of the true value; but the clergy had been often threatened with a new valuation, in which the rates were to be rigorously set to their full extent.

THE tenths, continued the same writer, amounted to about eleven thousand a year, and the first fruits, which were more casual, rose one year with another to five thousand pounds; so the whole amounted to between sixteen and seventeen thousand pounds a year: this was not brought into the treasury, as the other branches of the revenue; but the bishops, who had been the Pope's collectors, were now the King's; so persons in favor obtained assignations of it for life, or for a term of years: this had not been applied to any good use, but was still obtained by favorites, for themselves and their friends; and, in King Charles the Second's time, it went chiefly among his women and his natural children. On this
piece

piece of history, Burnet makes the following observation: LETTER III.
that it seemed strange, while the clergy had much credit at court, they had never represented this as sacrilege, unless it was applied to some religious purpose; and that during Archbishop's Laud's favor with King Charles the First, or at the restoration of King Charles the Second, no endeavors had been used to appropriate this to better uses.

THE good Bishop, who, it seems, was the person who advised the Queen in this business, proceeds in making several apt reflections on the reasonableness of providing better subsistence for the poor clergy, who, in some hundreds of cures, had not twenty pounds a year; and also on the scandal of not making some provision at the Restoration, when the fines amounted to much above a million; and tells us, that he should have obtained a relief to the clergy in the late King's time, but the Earl of Sunderland had procured an assignation upon two dioceses for two thousand a year for two lives; so nothing was to be hoped for after that.—But to go on with my story:

IN the year 1704, the Queen sent a message to the house of Commons, signifying her purpose to apply that branch of the revenue, which was raised out of the first-fruits and tenths paid by the clergy, to the increase of all the small benefices

LETTER III. nefices in the nation : the Commons received the message with great marks of approbation ; several of the whig party, and, in particular, Sir John Holland and Sir Joseph Jekyl, moved that the clergy might be entirely freed from the tax, since they bore an equal share of other taxes ; and that another fund might be raised, of the same value, for the augmentation of small livings. This generous proposal was opposed by Sir Christopher Musgrave, and other tories, on the pretence that the clergy ought to be kept on a dependance on the crown ; however, a bill was brought in, enabling her Majesty to alienate that branch of the revenue, which arose from first-fruits and tenths, and to create a corporation by charter to apply it to the use of the fore-mentioned augmentation ; and to this they added a repeal of the statute of Mortmain, so far as to leave it free to all men, either by deed, or by their last will, to give what they thought fit towards the augmenting of benefices.

THOUGH the Queen, from her first accession, had shewn a great partiality to those who were called of the high church party ; yet the clergy in general, and the most captious of the tory party, were much dissatisfied with the court, for not using all the influence of the crown to obtain the bill against occasional conformity.

THE two houses of convocation continued the disputes which had begun in the last reign, concerning the manner of synodical proceedings, and the right of the lower house to hold intermediate assemblies. The bishops, as they had complied with every change of government, were regarded as the betrayers of the indefeasible rights of monarchy and the church; and as the lower house was supposed to be more orthodox in their civil and religious principles, they were encouraged by the house of Commons, who passed a vote that they would on all occasions assert the just rights and privileges of the lower house of convocation: this encouragement increased party disputes; hence arose the distinctions of high church and low; the flame was spread from England to Ireland by the Earl of Rochester, during the time of his government of that kingdom in the character of Lord Lieutenant. As this nobleman espoused high principles in the highest degree, he was looked up to as one of the protectors of the church; and as the Earl of Godolphin, Lord Treasurer, was one of the Peers who voted against the bill to prevent occasional conformity, the Earl of Rochester was set up by the party as the most proper person to be trusted in the office of first minister.

THE Earl of Godolphin, at the same time that he had the misfortune to fall into disgrace with the high church party,

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was

LETTER III. was hated and suspected by the whigs, as an adherent and even a correspondent with the exiled family; and it was the terror, that the two parties would unite against the Treasurer, and embarrass the measures of government, which prevailed with her Majesty to make some changes in the ministry, and to admit a few of those who were reputed to be of the whig faction: the tories took the alarm; the Earl of Nottingham resigned the office of secretary of state; his resignation made way for others who were of the whig interest; and the fears of Godolphin, who was threatened by the whigs with a prosecution for great mismanagement, or treachery, in regard to the affairs of Scotland, co-operating with the furliness of the tories, induced the Queen, contrary to her inclination, to fling herself entirely into the hands of the whigs; and, consequently, this faction was furnished with an opportunity of effectually securing to themselves a majority in the new parliament of 1705.

THE tories, to stir up the ill humors of the populace, and to induce them to become the instruments of their ambition, continually sounded the alarm of the danger of the church from the heterodox principles of the whig faction: the pulpits rang with abusive harangues against the whole body of dissenters of all denominations; and the rage of the populace was often excited to the destruction of meeting-houses, and the

the disturbing dissenting congregations in their religious LETTER III. worship.

SUCH unwarrantable proceedings, when the tories were in power, were rather encouraged than otherwise by the government; but the Queen, in her speech to the parliament which met in 1705, as a proof that in this respect she had made some alteration in her system of policy, condescended to declare from the throne, that the church was in no danger: but notwithstanding this additional provocation to the admitting the whigs into power, the supplies which this year, besides the ordinary revenue and the payment of interest for debts, amounted to above five millions, were voted with the same unanimity as formerly: but though this great public concern, for reasons of policy, as both parties had been abettors of the war, and had both concurred in the expensive manner in which it was to be conducted; was neglected as a proper subject of opposition; yet the sessions did not pass over without manifest symptoms of the displeasure, which the court had fallen under, of that faction whose principles of non-resistance condemn all contest with the crown, and who had so warmly panegyricised the administration of the present sovereign.

PREVIOUS to the meeting of parliament, the tories in a private consultation had resolved to propose, either by bill or

LETTER III. address, to demand from the Queen that the Princess Sophia should be invited into the kingdom as the next heir of the crown; and inconsistent as such a measure was to the private principles of the party, and to their public conduct, for they had rejected the same proposal when offered by the whigs, the Lord Haversham was not ashamed to be the mouth of the party: he began with inveighing against the conduct of the allies in the last campaign; by implication he blamed the favorite; and concluded his speech with a motion that her Majesty should be addressed to invite the presumptive heir, according to the act of settlement, into England.

LORD Haversham was supported in his motion, with great warmth, by the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earls of Nottingham and Rochester, who, among other arguments, urged the danger of the Pretender's being in England, on the event of a succession, before the legal successor could have time to arrive. In the course of the debate, some reflections were thrown out on purpose to mortify the Queen, who was present, viz. that her Majesty might reign so long as to be in a state of childhood; and in such a case, the affairs of the kingdom might suffer for want of an able director.

THE whigs, who never were behind the Tories in acting a different part, according to their different situation, to preserve

serve their interest with the Queen, opposed the favorite measure with the same warmth with which it was proposed; the motion was rejected by the majority; and by the address of the Lord Wharton, the tories were made instruments to secure the protestant succession, though in a different manner than party pique had urged them to propose. LETTER III.

ACCORDING to the purport of a motion made by this Peer, and introduced in a speech, in which he indulged a vein of irony at the expence of the opposition, a bill was brought in for forming an eventual regency of the first officers of state, to take place upon the death of the Queen.

THUS the kingdom was effectually secured from a usurped authority, by a continuation of legal government till the successor should arrive. The tories, who had urged an invitation of the presumptive heir merely for the purpose of distressing the whigs, opposed this bill in every clause: however, it was carried against the whole force of the party; and, to the eternal disgrace of the whigs, by the same bill, which secured to the kingdom a protestant sovereign, those necessary limitations, which in a former bill had been made to the power of the crown, were taken away.

LETTER III. THE triumph of the whigs did not stop here: the Lord Halifax having moved for a day to examine into the pretended danger of the church, a warm debate ensued, which ended in a vote, that the church was in a safe and flourishing condition, and that whoever should suggest that the established church was in danger, was an enemy to the Queen, the church, and the kingdom: with this vote of the Peers the Commons agreed.

THOUGH this letter, my friend, is long, yet I cannot conclude it without relating one of the most important transactions of this reign, viz. the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; a union, which had been often attempted by the Sovereign, and as often rejected by one or both nations, on reasons which, in a great measure, have since operated to the mutual disgust of the two kingdoms, and which may possibly end in the destruction of the whole empire.

NONE of the subjects under the dominion of the house of Stuarts had suffered in so severe a manner as the Scots; and it was with an alacrity equal to a high sense of their injuries that they embraced the opportunity, a revolution in England afforded them, to throw off the intolerable yoke of slavery, to which they had been subjugated on the restoration

ration of Charles the Second to the crowns of England and Scotland. LETTER III.

THE news of the Prince of Orange's landing in England was proclaimed in the western counties of Scotland with extravagant demonstrations of joy; and as the greater part of the army had marched to England to support the government of James, no restraint was left to prevent the Scots from pursuing the course of their inclination, in their conduct on the present emergency.

IMMEDIATELY after the flight of James, thirty peers, and near eighty commoners of the Scottish nation, waited on the Prince of Orange, and requested him to take into his hands the government of Scotland: a convention, by his authority, in which no exceptions were to be made, only that the members were to be protestants, were ordered to meet on the fourteenth of March; the convention, when they met, soon reduced the small party, which yet adhered to the interest of James, to obedience to the new government. One Crane, an Englishman, who brought a letter from this unfortunate monarch, was ordered into custody. A committee, consisting of eight lords, eight knights, and eight burgeses, were appointed to prepare the plan of a new settlement of the kingdom: this committee, instead of
wrangling

LETTER III. wrangling on matters of party dispute, and amusing themselves, after the manner of the English convention, in nice and unprofitable distinctions, went roundly to work, and agreed that James, by his misgovernment, had forfeited his right to the crown: this strong resolution of the committee was approved by the convention, who gave orders that another act should be prepared for raising William and Mary to the vacant throne, to consider of the destination of the crown to other heirs, and to form an instrument of government for securing for the future the people against the grievances of which they had long complained. According to the purport of these resolutions, William and Mary were proclaimed at Edinburgh; the Duke of Hamilton, a near relation of James, read in person the act of the convention: and the Earl of Argyle, in the name of the lords; Sir James Montgomery, for the knights; and Sir John Dalrymple, for the burgeses; were ordered to repair to London, to invest William with the government.

IF this disposition in the Scots had been cultivated by an honest attention to their political happiness, it would, in all probability, have rendered them the warmest friends to the new establishment; but I am sorry to have so often an occasion to observe, that the enlarging civil liberty was not the errand

errand for which William undertook so hazardous and expensive an enterprize, as the invasion of England. EX- LETTER III.

WHEN the commissioners appointed by the convention waited on his Majesty with the instrument of government, they presented him with a paper, containing a list of grievances to be redressed, and an address for converting the convention into a parliament. To the last request, William assented without hesitation, and to the list of grievances he made a general answer; but when the parliament met, they had the mortification to find his Majesty's instructions to his commissioners very much circumscribed on the subject of grievances: and that the abolition of the lords of the articles could not be obtained, though they had been long and justly deemed incompatible with the first principles of a free parliament.

THE ill humor which this unjustifiable conduct of the King occasioned, was at present suppressed, on account of the dangers which threatened the new government, from the active intrepidity of the Viscount Dundee, who had put himself at the head of fifteen hundred highlanders, and spread terror and desolation through the whole highlands of Scotland.

LETTER III. DUNDEE was no sooner suppressed, than the parliament began to shew strong symptoms of displeasure at the measures of the crown, and to exert the privileges which every representative of the people ought to have to redress the grievances of their constituents; they passed an act for the abolition of prelacy; they incapacitated obnoxious persons from serving the government; and they claimed the privilege, which they had exercised at the restoration of monarchy, of examining, and rejecting, or receiving the judges.

WILLIAM, by an act of prerogative, had named the lords of sessions: the parliament passed an act, in which it was provided that the nomination should be in the crown, and the approbation entirely in parliament; and when, in opposition to this just claim, the ministry adhered to the King's nomination, they forbade the judges to open their commissions, or to hold their sessions.

THE Scotch ministry, several of whom have been accused by their own historians as men of profligate principles, prepared to support their pretensions by force, and drew an unusual number of troops to Edinburgh; but as the majority were not to be intimidated, tumult and confusion prevailed; the commissioner adjourned the assembly; the opposition prepared a remonstrance, in which, with many expressions of
zeal

zeal for his service, and loyalty to his person, the King was in a manner upbraided with a breach of the conditions on which he had received the crown, and in which the parliament recapitulated the several acts to which he had not given his assent, and which seemed to have been designedly defeated by a long adjournment: to this remonstrance the parliament annexed the reasons for adhering to their votes; and requested the King, in prosecution of his acceptance of the claim of rights, to give his assent to the specified acts, and to take such measures as were best calculated for redressing all the other grievances of the nation. LETTER III.

IF the zeal of the friends to the revolution had not gone so far, as to settle a revenue on the King for life before the redress of grievances, a favorable answer, in all probability, would have been given to the just requests of the Scots; but this was far from the case; and the rage of the opposition was so highly augmented, by the manner in which William received their remonstrance, that the Lord Melville, appointed commissioner in the room of the Duke of Hamilton, terrified at appearances, by frequent adjournments put off the consultation on national affairs, seven weeks after the parliament was appointed to meet.

LETTER III. THIS conduct of the government produced a combination of all parties in opposition to the ministry: the commissioner was diffident of the event. He adjourned the parliament for seven days, on the expectation of receiving a permission from William to agree to such laws as should be thought necessary to quiet the minds of the people. In consequence of this minister's representation of the state of affairs the King's supremacy over the church was rescinded, and the articles which laid restraint on the freedom of parliament repealed.

By this well-timed condescension, the hopes of the jacobites, who had joined with the presbyterians, on the prospect that they would unite their forces to produce another revolution in favor of the late King, were entirely defeated: on the fear that they should be prosecuted for their intrigues with James, they fled the parliament; the commissioner had now a clear majority in his favor; and as the favorite object of the presbyterians was gratified, by his giving the royal assent to the establishing presbytery as the national church, the following acts passed without opposition:

That the estates of those in arms against the government should be forfeited:

That

That a supply should be raised by a tax upon chimnies :

LETTER III.

That the army should be continued ; and a test established and imposed upon all men in office, and on the electors, and elected for parliament, renouncing the pretensions of James, and recognizing William as the legal sovereign.

THOSE clans, who had armed in the highlands on the hope of a general combination, and the assistance of a force sent by James from Ireland, being disappointed in these expectations, on a proclamation of indemnity to all who should take oaths to the King and Queen, they laid down their arms, and submitted to the government.

THE time limited by the proclamation for taking advantage of the terms of indemnity, was on or before the last day of December, 1691. An accident, occasioned by an obstruction in the roads, prevented Macdonald, of Glenco, from arriving at Inverary till the time was elapsed : the sheriff, by his importunities and tears, was prevailed on to receive his submission ; but, through party or personal malice, a warrant of military execution against him and his whole tribe was procured of the King ; the circumstances which attended the execution of the orders aggravated the act. Campbell, of Glenlyon, who commanded the party of King's troops,

LETTER III. troops, being a relation of Macdonald's wife, was received by the family with friendship and hospitality, and his men were treated in the houses of the tenants with free quarters and kind entertainment for several days; the troops partook of the good cheer of their landlords; yet, on the thirteenth night from their arrival, a massacre began; Macdonald, as he was rising from his bed to receive Lieutenant Lindsay, who called with a party of soldiers, was shot dead with two bullets; his wife was stripped naked; the slaughter became general; near forty persons were killed; several who fled to the mountains perished by famine and the inclemency of the season; whilst those who escaped owed their preservation to the same cause.

LIEUTENANT-Colonel Hamilton, and a party of four hundred men, who had orders to occupy all the passes which led from the valley of Glenco, were stopped on their march by the severity of a tempestuous night; they entered the valley the next day; they laid all the houses in ashes, and carried away all the cattle and spoil, which were divided among the officers and soldiers.

THE severity, or rather the cruelty of this transaction, gave general disgust in Scotland, and rivetted the inveteracy of the jacobite party against the government: the King's friends

friends excused his Majesty, by affirming, that he had signed the warrant among other papers without examining its contents, and that the officers extended their rigor beyond the letter of their orders. To make the best of it, negligence is a very lame excuse for a mistake attended with consequences so dreadful and extensive; besides, the King, to guard his secretary, had signed the paper both above and below; and the principal actors in the business were not only screened from punishment, but afterwards distinguished and rewarded. LETTER III.

THE correspondence between the jacobites of Scotland and the late King was uninterrupted during the whole of William's reign; they made several efforts in his favor, but were as often foiled by the vigilance of the Scotch ministry, and as often disappointed of assistance from the ill fortune or the negligence of James. Happily for William, the great majority of the Scotch parliament were presbyterians; a circumstance which effectually secured to him the compliance of this assembly. In the year 1693, they voted that four regiments of foot, and two of dragoons, should be added to the standing forces of the kingdom; they granted a supply of one hundred and fourteen thousand pounds sterling; they ratified, by an act, the proceedings of the privy council in impressing seamen; they expelled all absentees among the Commoners from their house; they fined such Lords as declined

LETTER III. clined to attend in parliament; they appointed a committee to enquire into the designs of the adherents to the late King; and they imprifoned feveral Lords in the caſtles of Stirling and Edinburgh.

THIS zeal for the government, ſays a late Scotch hiftorian, was not properly returned by the King; he declined to levy the new troops, but he took care to raife the tax appointed for their ſubſiſtence, and to apply it to other uſes of his own: this management of William's again united the Scotch preſbyterians and jacobites in an oppoſition to his meaſures; nor could he gain a renewal of ſubſidies, but with a bribe, which flattered the avarice of the nation with the hopes of acquiring wealth.

A SCHEME to eſtabliſh a Scotch ſettlement at Darien, on the eaſt ſide of the Iſthmus of America, and another on the oppoſite ſide, towards the South Sea, was projected by Patterſon, who had been the chief inſtrument in eſtabliſhing the Bank of England; the project was approved by the King; and his commiſſioners had powers to give his aſſent to any bill for the encouragement of trade.

THE King's intentions were no ſooner made known to the parliament, than they produced a thorough revolution in the
opinions

opinions and conduct of the members: a vote of condolance LETTER III.
for the death of the Queen was instantly passed; and the necessary supplies were voted, though the largeness of the sum extended to a general poll tax, a six month's cefs out of the land rents, and an additional excise.

WHEN the parliament of England heard of this bargain and sale, it produced a ferment in both houses: on the fourteenth of December, 1695, the Lords sent down to the Commons an address to the King, against an act passed in the Scotch parliament for erecting a company trading to Africa and the East-Indies; the Commons concurred with the Peers; the address was presented; the King said, he had been ill served in Scotland, but he hoped some remedy might be found to the evils of which the two houses complained; on this the Commons resolved,

That the directors of the Scottish company should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors:

That a council of trade should be established, by act of parliament, for the preservation of the commerce of England:

That the commissioners should be nominated by parliament, but that none of them should be members of the house.

LETTER III. THE new Scotch company found insuperable difficulties in the realising the advantages granted them by charter; it not only raised a jealousy in the English, but in the Dutch; and no subscriptions could be raised among either nation to supply the funds necessary for the undertaking.

WILLIAM had not only censured those acts relating to trade which had passed in the Scotch parliament, and to which he had given his concurrence, but his resident at Hamburgh terrified the merchants of that city from performing their contract for furnishing the deputies of the company with two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

NOTWITHSTANDING these discouragements, the Scottish company were determined not to give up a project, from which they had promised themselves the attainment of wealth: as the King had refused the use of two small frigates which lay unoccupied in the harbour of Burnt-Island, they resolved to convoy their fleet, which consisted of a few tenders, with two ships of their own: a council of seven were appointed to direct the expedition; and the adventurers, through great difficulties and hardships, for the want of necessary provision for so long a voyage, on the fourth of November 1699, landed at the destined port. They had treated with the natives for a permission to settle on the coast of Darien,

Darien, but found it impracticable to effect an establishment; LETTER III.
for William, who was now much set against the project, on
account, as it is supposed, of the opposition given by the
Dutch, sent orders to the governors of the colonies to issue
proclamations, forbidding his subjects in America to give
assistance to the adventurers: the prohibition was rigidly
obeyed; and, to complete the overthrow of the company,
the new colony was attacked by the Spaniards, and the greater
part carried prisoners into Carthagena.

THUS this great design, from which the Scots, as Burnet
observes, promised themselves mountains of gold, fell to the
ground; but not before the nation had expended near two
hundred thousand pounds sterling. The loss of this real, as
well as the imaginary treasure the Scots had promised them-
selves from the Darien settlement, put the whole nation into
a temporary fury: the King had suffered the parliament, and
had authorised his commissioner to offer a law for a habeas
corpus, with a greater freedom in trade, provided they would
be pacified on the subject of the Darien settlement; but find-
ing they were determined to make it a national concern, the
session was for some time discontinued.

The ferment which this business occasioned continued du-
ring the whole reign of William; nor did the submission of
X 2 parliament,

LETTER III. parliament, though soothed to compliance by a condescending letter from the King, in which he promised to give his assent to all acts for the better establishing the government of the church, the security of personal liberty, and, more especially, for repairing the losses, and promoting the interest of the African and Indian companies, appease, in any degree, the general ill humor which possessed all parties during the whole remainder of the reign of William.

THE news of his death spread a universal joy through all Scotland; and the accession of a Princess, descended from the line of Scottish kings, was celebrated as a national blessing; but the transports, which this event occasioned, immediately subsided, and were succeeded by opposite sentiments, on the Queen's refusing to dissolve the convention parliament, which had sat full thirteen years, and which the people had reason to believe had in several instances betrayed the interests of their constituents, for the lucre of gain.

WHEN the parliament met, on the ninth of June, 1702, previous to the reading her Majesty's commission, the Duke of Hamilton protested against the legality of the meeting; and after offering his reasons in a short speech, left the house: eighty members followed his example; the remaining assembly proceeded to business; the Queen's commission

was

was read; the usual committee appointed; and an act passed, LETTER, III. declaring the parliament a legal parliament, and discharging all persons from disowning its authority, under the penalty of high treason.

THE parliament, from being unpopular, were become odious; the populace were outrageous; but their clamor, as usual, ended only in noise; the Queen signified her intention to maintain, against all opposers, the dignity and authority of the parliament as a legal one; and this assembly, in return, recognised the Queen's title to the crown. They then proceeded to ratify all the acts made in favor of the Presbyterian government; they expelled Sir Alexander Bruce, for hinting that some of these acts might be found inconsistent with monarchy; they reprimanded the faculty of advocates, for declaring that the protest and conduct of the seceded members were founded on the laws of the kingdom; they granted a tax sufficient to maintain the forces then in Scotland for two years; and, in compliance with a recommendation given in a letter from the Queen, they passed an act for enabling her Majesty to appoint commissioners for an union between the two kingdoms.

IN the midst of this unanimity and zeal for the service of the court, the Earl of Marchmont, chancellor of the kingdom, made a motion for the settlement of the crown in the
protestant.

LETTER III. protestant line, and for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales: to the astonishment of all those who were not in the secret, the Duke of Queensbury, the Queen's commissioner, laid his commands on the chancellor not to proceed; but the chancellor was obstinate, and the motion was rejected.

ACCORDING to the best accounts which can be gathered, my friend, of Queen Anne's temper and inclinations, she was averse to the exclusion of her own family from the throne of England: she had, according to a late author, corresponded with her father after his abdication, and given him strong assurances to do every thing in her power to restore the succession to the ancient channel. According to the same author, her chief minister Godolphin, and her favorite the Duke of Marlborough, had added solemn oaths to their promises to support the interest of King James, and his son; and had renewed these promises, and these oaths, even since the accession of the reigning Queen; an event, which had thrown the power of the two kingdoms into their hands. It is certain, according to this author, that the expectation that power, on the death of the Queen, was to revert to the hereditary line, was the principle on which was founded the loyalty of the jacobites: and thus, by keeping the succession open in Scotland, the Queen retained a strong check on the whigs,

whigs, and on the ambition of the family of Hanover, whose intrigues, both in England and Scotland, she had some reason to apprehend. LETTER III.

THE Earl of Marchmont's motion threw the ministry into such confusion, that the commissioners adjourned the parliament; and the Queen, fearing that the presbyterian party in Scotland would renew the attempt of establishing the succession, dissolved the parliament; removed the old ministry, who were considered in the light of whigs; and put the management of the Scotch affairs, as she had previously done the English, entirely into the hands of the tories.

THE prejudices of the people, which ran very strong against the last parliament, united to the influence and weight of government, together with a proclamation of indemnity, produced a majority of members, whose views were entirely opposite to their predecessors, and who in a manner united to oppose the bill of abjuration, the succession of the family of Hanover, and the union of the two kingdoms.

THE jacobites, whose avowed aim was to produce a revolution in favor of the exiled family, were led by the Earl of Home, a nobleman of great repute with the party, from his uniform attachment to the same interest; whilst those, who
called.

LETTER III. called themselves patriots, and who affected the insisting on the redress of the grievances the nation had laboured under in the preceding reign, put themselves under the direction of the Duke of Hamilton, who had gained much popularity by his secession in the preceding year; who was trusted by the exiled family with the management of their interest in this parliament; and whose attachment was sincere, though his services had often been diverted by the principle of caution, or views of personal ambition.

THE presbyterians and revolutioners were headed by the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Marchmont; each party professed the most devoted attachment to the Queen; and the session opened May, 1703, with symptoms highly favorable to the views of the ministry, and the system of policy adopted by the court.

ON the first meeting of parliament, the Duke of Hamilton presented to the house the draught of a bill for recognising and asserting the authority of her Majesty, and her undoubted right and title to the crown of Scotland. The Duke of Hamilton's proposal met with no opposition; the Queen's advocate offered an additional clause, denouncing the penalties of high treason against any person who should dispute her Majesty's right or title to the crown, or her exercise of the government,

vernment, from her actual entry to the same. This propo- LETTER III.
fal, my friend, of the Queen's advocate, was to skreen the
old ministry from the future animadversions of parliament;
the propofal was affented to, after a warm debate, but not
without an exprefs declaration, that the clause should not ex-
tend to juftify the tranfactions in the late parliament, should
they be hereafter questioned.

THE Earl of Home, to fhew the loyalty of the jacobites
to the perfon of Queen Anne, produced the draught of a
bill for a fupply; but the Marquis of Tweeddale made an
overture, that, before all other bufinefs, the parliament would
proceed to make fuch conditions of government, and regula-
tions in the conftitution of the kingdom, to take place after
the deceafe of her Majefty and the heirs of her body, as
fhould be neceffary for the prefervation of their religion
and liberty. From this period, all appearance of harmony,
and united concurrence with the meafures of adminiftration,
ceafed, and was fucceeded by warm and violent debates. The
Duke of Queensbury, the Queen's commissioner, defired, with
much earneftnefs, that the act for the fupply might be read;
and promifed, that the parliament fhould have full time af-
terwards to deliberate on other fubjects. This ftale device did
not fucceed; the Marquis of Tweeddale infifted on his over-
ture, and with fuch fuccefs, that the houfe came to a refolu-

LETTER III. tion, to proceed with such acts as might be necessary for securing the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, before any bill for supply, or other business, should be discussed. In consequence of this resolution, the Marquis of Athol offered an act for the security of the kingdom, in case of her Majesty's decease; the Duke of Argyle another, for ratifying the revolution, and all the acts following thereupon; Fletcher of Saltoun, a man of a masculine and well-cultivated understanding, of a fine genius, and whose public conduct was governed by principles highly independent and disinterested, produced a third, for limiting the succession after the death of her Majesty, and the heirs of her body; a fourth, importing, that after her Majesty's death, and failing heirs of her body, no person coming to the crown of Scotland, being at the same time sovereign of England, should, as sovereign of Scotland, have power to make peace or war without the consent of parliament, was recommended by the Earl of Rothes; a fifth, for securing the true protestant religion, and presbyterian government, by the Earl of Marchmont; a sixth, allowing the importation of wines, and other foreign liquors, by Sir Patrick Johnson; and a seventh, for a toleration to all protestants in the exercise of religious worship, by the Earl of Strathmore.

AGAINST

AGAINST this act, proposed by the Earl of Strathmore, LETTER III.
the general assembly presented a warm remonstrance; but the
commissioner, alarmed at the progress made by the anti-revo-
lutioners, joined his interest to the Duke of Argyle's party,
and procured the assent of parliament to an act for preserving
the true reformed protestant religion, and confirming presbyte-
rian church government; and another for ratifying and perpe-
tuating the first act of King William, and for declaring it high
treason to disown the authority of that parliament, or to alter
or innovate the claim of right, or any article thereof; this
last clause was so strenuously opposed, that the bill passed
with great difficulty; and the anti-revolutioners, who had
kept a strict correspondence with the Duke of Queensbury,
were so exasperated at what they construed treachery, that
they separated themselves from the court, and united their
interest to limit prerogatives, which had seldom been exer-
cised but to the misery of individuals, and the disadvantage
of the kingdom.

AFTER a variety of debates, in which all parties entered
with earnestness and animosity, and which accordingly pro-
duced much violent altercation; the famous act of security
was carried by the different parties, who stiled themselves
patriots.

LETTER III. IN this act it was stipulated, that, on the twentieth day after the Queen's decease, the estates of parliament should meet; and that, in the intermediate time, the executive government should devolve on such members of the house as should happen to be in Edinburgh; that no Englishman, or foreigner, enjoying a title in Scotland, and not possessed of one thousand pounds sterling of yearly rent in that kingdom, should be capable of either sitting or voting in the parliament to be convened: in terms of the act it was provided, that no papist should be a member; it was provided, that the nomination of the successor should be left to the estates of parliament, who should assemble after the Queen's death, but that the successor to be thus nominated should not be the successor to the crown of England, unless such conditions of government should be settled in the same sessions of parliament as should secure the honor of the kingdom, the independence of the crown, the freedom, frequency, and power of parliaments, and the religion, liberty, and trade of the Scottish nation, from English or foreign influence.

TOWARD the end of the session, the Earl of Marchmont, whose zeal was of too warm a nature to be cooled by appearances, presented an act to the house for settling the succession on the family of Hanover.

As

As this was in direct opposition to the apparent sense of LETTER III. the majority, it was regarded as a high affront to the house; it was moved by some of the members, that the overture should be publicly burnt; not a few were for calling the Chancellor to the bar, and several proposed to send him prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; the overture was rejected without a vote; and to place a mark of indignation on the act, it was carried by a majority of fifty-seven, that its memory should be expunged from the journals of the house.

WHILE the house were employed on the act of security, several laws with regard to commerce, and one to encourage the African and Indian companies, passed; but when the commissioner was pressed on the subject of the said bill, he acquainted the house, that he was fully impowered to give the royal assent to every act, excepting that called an act for the security of the kingdom.

THE house was too much in earnest in regard to the bill of security, to take a refusal with patience; many bitter invectives were flung out against the ministry; it was denied that the right of a negative was inherent in the crown, to an act passed and solemnly offered by parliament; and when the commissioner again proposed that the supply should take place of all other business, the opposition stated the vote,
overture

LETTER III. overture for subsidy, or overture for liberty; and in the course of the debate, the Earl of Roxburgh declared, that if there was no other way of supporting the natural and undeniable privilege of parliament, the friends of their country were determined to demand justice with their swords in their hands.

THE commissioner, foreseeing that the spirit within doors would be seconded by tumults without, had ordered the foot guards to be in readiness, and had placed a strong guard on the eastern gate of the city; however, the increasing warmth of the opposition, abetted by the fury of the populace, filled him with apprehensions for the safety of his person; and having promised that the overtures for liberty should be the first business of the next sessions, and having touched the bills which were ready with the sceptre, he suddenly prorogued the parliament.

THE Duke of Queensbury, either dreading the resentment of the cavaliers, or with design to weaken the opposition by decreasing the influence of their leaders, entered into a cabal with Simon Fraffier, an outlaw, to trepan his enemies into a criminal correspondence with the court of St. Germain; Fraffier's design was suspected before the intrigue was sufficiently advanced to answer the purpose of the commissioner; however, the rumor of a Scotch plot made a great noise in
England;]

England; it was taken up with eagerness by the house of LETTER III.
Lords, and increased the resentment of the prevalent party
in Scotland to a height which rendered it necessary for the
Queen to appoint another commissioner, the Marquis of
Tweeddale, to transact her business in the next session of
parliament, which met on the sixth of July, 1703.

To mollify the resentment, and abate the zeal of the
leaders in opposition, titles were conferred, and the order
of the Thistle revived; however, the policy did not at this
time produce its usual effect. The Duke of Hamilton,
who, it is supposed, had a double game to play, moved that
the parliament should not name a successor to the crown
until the Scots should have concluded a previous treaty with
England, in relation to commerce and other concerns. In
the course of a warm debate on the Duke of Hamilton's mo-
tion, Fletcher of Saltoun, who perhaps, my friend, was the
only individual in the whole assembly who acted on the ge-
nuine principles of patriotism, expatiated largely and feel-
ingly upon the hardships and miseries which the Scots had
sustained since the union of the two crowns under one sove-
reign, and the impossibility of bettering their condition, un-
less they should take care to anticipate any design which
tended to a continuation of the same calamities. After a
great variety of motions, and as many debates, a bill of supply
being

LETTER III. being offered by the Lord Justice Clerk, the patriots tacked to it great part of the act of security, to which the royal assent had been refused the last sessions; and the spirit of independence, within and without doors, rose at this time to so high a pitch, that the commissioner, with the concurrence of the rest of the ministers, wrote a letter to the Queen, in which he strenuously advised her Majesty to gratify the nation, in giving the assent to their favorite bill.

THE Earl of Godolphin, who, it is supposed, had privately encouraged the malecontents in Scotland to reject the proposal for settling the crown in the house of Hanover, fearful of driving the party into the desperate measure of supporting the independence of Scotland by arms, persuaded the Queen to give her assent: the Scotch parliament, in return, granted the supplies without farther hesitation: but in consequence of a motion made by Fletcher, they engaged in debates on the subject of the conspiracy, termed the proceedings of the house of Lords an encroachment upon the sovereignty and independence of the nation, and drew up an address to the Queen, desiring that the evidence and papers relating to the plot might be subjected to their examination in the next sessions.

WHEN

WHEN the act of security, my friend, was transmitted to LETTER III.
England, it furnished the enemies of Godolphin very copious
matter for declaiming against the treachery and ill conduct
of this minister; but the whigs, who were now in office,
exerted all their influence to save a minister, by whose ma-
nagement the Hanover family were in a manner excluded
from the crown of Scotland; and the tories were become
such zealous revolutioners, as to make the protestant succe-
sion in the two kingdoms their earnest care. But whatever
might be the sincere opinion, or inclinations of the different
factions in this important point, it is certain that the whole
nation were alarmed at the acts passed in the Scotch parlia-
ment; and on the first meeting of the parliament of England,
after these transactions, a bill passed both houses, to the fol-
lowing purport,

That no Scotchman, not residing in England or Ireland,
should enjoy the privileges of Englishmen, until an union
should be made, or the succession settled as in England :

To prohibit the bringing in of cattle from Scotland, and
the exportation of English wool into Scotland: and

That the Queen's ships should seize such Scottish ships as
they should find trading with France.

LETTER III. THE Queen was addressed to put the town of Newcastle in a state of defence, to secure the port of Tinmouth, to repair Carlisle and Hull, to order the militia of the four northern counties to be disciplined and armed, and that a competent number of regular troops should be stationed on the borders towards Scotland, and in the northern parts of Ireland.

THE refractory conduct of the Scotch parliament was likely to become a matter of a serious nature to the English minister, who had not foreseen the consequence of putting the administration of affairs into the hands of jacobites; it was now necessary to change the measures which had been pursued in the management of the affairs of that kingdom; the Duke of Argyle, a zealous revolutioner, was made commissioner; an entire new ministry was formed out of the leaders of the whig faction; and a large sum of money issued out of the treasury, to disperse occasionally among the adverse faction.

THESE manœuvres, my friend, did not fail to produce their usual effects; in vain did Fletcher, of Saltoun, urge the necessity of a bill of limitations to the prerogative of the crown; in vain did he declaim on the ill consequences which had ever attended English influence: without insisting on any preliminaries, excepting the repeal of that part of the act
of

of the English parliament which declared the subjects of Scotland aliens, the house in general terms resolved to agree to a treaty with England, according to the purport of an act which had passed in the last sessions of the English parliament; and the Duke of Hamilton, to the amazement of his whole party, moved, that the nomination of the commissioners should be left to the Queen. LETTER III.

ON the meeting of the English parliament, they not only reversed that clause in the act which declared the Scotch aliens, but those which were compulsory in relation to the trade and manufactures of Scotland. This condescension opened the way for an immediate treaty. The Queen, according to the powers vested in her by the parliaments of England and Scotland, appointed an equal number of commissioners of both nations, to meet and treat concerning a union of the two kingdoms: and as a union was at this time very necessary to the interest of the ministers, the commissioners appointed were all men zealous in the service.

AFTER some proposals on the side of the Scots, which were not complied with by the English, both parties agreed to the following conditions:

Z 2

That

LETTER III. That the succession to the united kingdom of Great-Britain should be vested in the Princess Sophia, and her heirs, according to the acts already passed in the parliament of England :

That the united kingdom should be represented by one and the same parliament :

That all the subjects of Great-Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages ; that they should have the same allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks, and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations, with respect to commerce and customs :

That Scotland should not be charged with the temporary duties on some certain commodities :

That the sum of three hundred ninety-eight thousand and eighty-five pounds ten shillings should be granted to the Scots, as an equivalent for such parts of the customs and excise charged upon that kingdom, in consequence of the union, as would be applicable to the payment of the debts of England :

That

That the revenues of Scotland might increase, a further LETTER III. equivalent should be allowed for such proportion of the said increase as should be applicable to the payment of the debts of England :

That the sum to be paid at present, as well as the monies arising from the future equivalents, should be employed in reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of the English coin ; in paying off the capital stock and interest due to the proprietors of the African company, which should be immediately dissolved ; in discharging all the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland ; and in promoting and encouraging manufactures and fisheries, under the direction of commissioners to be appointed by her Majesty, and accountable to the parliament of Great-Britain :

That the laws concerning public rights, policy, and civil government, should be the same through the whole united kingdom ; but that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private right, except for the evident utility of the subjects within Scotland :

That the court of session, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before

LETTER III. before the union; subject, nevertheless, to such regulations as should be made by the parliament of Great-Britain:

That all heritable offices, superiorities, heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and jurisdictions for life, should be reserved to the owners as rights of property, in the same manner as then enjoyed by the laws of Scotland:

That the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland should remain entire after the union:

That Scotland should be represented in the parliament of Great-Britain by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner as should be settled by the present parliament of Scotland:

That all the peers of Scotland, and the successors to their honors and dignities, should, from and after the union, be peers of Great-Britain, and should have rank and precedence next, and immediately after the English peers of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the union:

That they should be tried as peers of Great-Britain, and enjoy all privileges as peers as fully as enjoyed by the peers of England, except the right and privilege of sitting in the
house

house of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting upon the trial of peers: LETTER III.

That the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls, and registers whatsoever, should still remain as they were, within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland :

That all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they might be inconsistent with the terms of these articles, should cease, and be declared void by the respective parliaments of the two kingdoms.

THOUGH a union of the two kingdoms on these terms, my friend, opened many advantages to the Scots, from which they must ever have been excluded whilst the different nations remained in a state of separation, yet it met with a general and violent opposition ; it was carried in parliament by the irresistible power of corruption, and occasioned tumults and clamors which often filled the servants of the crown with apprehensions for their lives. The Duke of Queensbury expressed a desire of giving up the point for a time, till, by management, he should be able to remove difficulties, which he protested seemed to him insurmountable. The Earl of Godolphin insisted on his proceeding ; and on his return from accomplishing the great work, he was met
near

LETTER III. near London by above forty noblemen and about four hundred gentlemen, on horseback.

As the union of the two kingdoms was entirely a whig measure, and on design to save the credit of the minister, it was opposed by the tory party in both houses of the English parliament. In a committee of the Commons to consider of the articles of the union, and the Scotch act of ratification, Sir John Packer declared, it was a union carried on by corruption and bribery within doors, by force and violence without; that the promoters of it had basely betrayed their trust, in giving up their independent constitution; and he would leave it to the judgment of the house to consider, whether or no men of such principles were fit to be admitted into the English house of Commons? Several arguments, of no great weight, respecting the different forms of church government in the two kingdoms, were urged on the occasion, but without effect; several of the most virulent of the tory party left the house, and then all the articles were examined and approved without further opposition.

IN the house of Lords, several warm speeches were made, and plausible arguments urged, against a measure adopted with precipitation by the ministry, and carried through the lower house, by the whig faction, with a vehemence which
allowed

allowed no time for proper deliberation on a subject of the LETTER III
highest importance to the whole British empire. Lord Haverham, in a long speech, said, the question was, Whether two nations, independent in their sovereignties, that had their distinct laws and interests, their different forms of worship, church government, and order, should be united into one kingdom? He supposed it an union made up of so many mismatched pieces, of such jarring, incongruous ingredients, that, should it ever take effect, it would carry the necessary consequences of a standing power and force to keep them from falling asunder and breaking in pieces.

HE dissented, he said, from the union, for the sake of the good old English constitution, in which he dreaded some alteration from the additional weight of sixty-one Scotch members, and these returned from a Scotch privy-council: he said, if the bishops would weaken their own cause so far as to give up the two great points of episcopal ordination and confirmation, if they would approve and ratify the act for securing the presbyterian church government in Scotland as the true, protestant religion and purity of worship, they must give up that which had been contended for between them and the presbyterians for thirty years: he objected to the exempting articles, by which heritable offices and superiorities

LETTER III. were reserved: he observed, from the circumstances of rigor with which the union was pressed on the nation, that it was contrary to the sense of the Scots.

THE Lords North and Gray complained of the small and unequal proportion of the land-tax imposed upon Scotland.

THE Earl of Nottingham asserted, that it was highly unreasonable that the Scots, who were by the treaty let into all the branches of the English trade, and paid so little toward the expence of government, should have such a round sum by way of equivalent; and said, if the proposed union was compleated, he could justly affirm, that he had outlived the laws and the very constitution of England.

THE opposition of the tory peers was as unsuccessful as that of the commoners in the lower house; every article of the union was approved by a great majority; a bill of ratification passed both houses with all possible dispatch, and when it received the royal sanction, the Queen said, she did not doubt but it would be remembered, and spoke of hereafter, to the honour of those who had been instrumental in bringing such an important business to so happy a conclusion.

THUS,

THUS, my friend, with precipitation, and in the way of LETTER III.
surprise, was compleated a union, which, on very sound
principles of policy, had several times been rejected by both
nations, and at this time, with great difficulty, coerced on
the Scots; though, as Burnet observes, the advantages which
were offered to Scotland in the whole frame of it were great
and visible: the Scots were to bear less than the fortieth part
of the public taxes, and in return they were to have the ele-
venth part of the legislature; trade was to be free all over the
island, and to the plantations; private rights were to be pre-
served; and the judicature and laws of Scotland were still to
be continued.

WHETHER, my friend, the security pretended to be ob-
tained by England by this union was worth purchasing at so
high a price; whether the union has answered the expecta-
tions of those who prophesied that it would be the means
of extending the bounds of the British empire, and of en-
larging the happiness of its citizens, by cementing in the
closest bands of friendship two nations who had ever re-
garded each other with the eyes of jealousy and aversion,
will be differently determined by men, who, from their dif-
ferent connections in both or either countries, have con-
tracted different prejudices; but whether, my friend, as the

LETTER III. tories of these times predicted, it will be attended with consequences no less fatal than the destruction of the laws and constitution of England, the space of a very few years will, in all probability, determine beyond a doubt.

LETTER



L E T T E R I V .

I AM obliged to you, my dear friend, for telling me that LETTER IV.
you did not think my last letter, though necessarily long,
either prolix or tedious; but, however, as you agree with
me in the opinion that descriptions of battles are in general
the dullest and the least interesting part of an historical nar-
rative, I shall in future be as short on this subject as the
matter will permit; and in particular, as I observe, since mi-
litary science has become more generally diffused, the bril-
liancy of military action has been in common to more and
less civilized societies.

I KNOW

LETTER IV. I KNOW of no real advantages, my friend, which can accrue to any people from success in arms, but that of political security, or the attainment of such a proportion of riches as, rendered nationally beneficial by the honest œconomy of a wise and just government, may in part or in whole exonerate the public from the burthen of taxes.

THIS, you know, my friend, was for a series of years the fruits of Roman conquests; but when, instead of such beneficial consequences, victory only serves to facilitate the ends of domestic tyranny, and is purchased with the addition of accumulated taxes, with public debts, and public slavery, for my own part, I look on the military achievements of such a nation as so many badges of their servitude, or as glaring marks of their folly; and therefore I cannot dwell with pleasure on the unpleasing subject.

As from the period of the Revolution to the present æra, the motive for contention between whig and tory was merely the enjoyment of power, and the lucre of office, the nation reaped no benefit from oppositions conducted on no one principle of public good: the purse of the nation was as liberally granted as it was lavishly squandered; and the people, who never examine remote consequences, were not in general displeased, even with the incurring large debts, for the glorious

rious purpose of mortifying the pride of Lewis, and humbling the pretensions of the French court. That haughty monarch, in the year 1706, by the prodigious exertions of the English nation, was reduced so low as to offer the following advantageous terms for securing the peace of Europe, and the enjoyment of tranquility to himself and people, who were in danger of losing their independency as a nation, by the ruinous consequences of a destructive war :

LETTER IV.

THE dominions of Spain in Italy to the Arch-duke Charles, a barrier in the Netherlands to the States, and a compensation to the Duke of Savoy for the waste made by the war in his territories, were the terms the French monarch proposed to the Duke of Marlborough, and the field deputies of the States, in return for the restoration of Bavaria to its native prince, and the quiet possession of the throne of Spain and the Indies to his grandson Philip the Fifth.

THE securing the peace of Europe was not either the interest or the inclination of the British ministry; the States were dissuaded by the Duke of Marlborough from embracing the opportunity of crowning their successes with an honorable peace. The Emperor contributed little or nothing to the military expence, and was to gain a kingdom by the contest; and the terms offered by the French monarch were rejected with

LETTER IV. with disdain, although the English ministry had the effrontery to assert, that the treaty offered by France was too good to be the foundation of a lasting tranquility; but this, my friend, was the period in which the Marlborough family were in the meridian of their power and glory. The splendor of the Duke's victories had charmed the whole populace of England, awed the spirit of faction, and bridled the malice of his personal enemies. The excluded tories found it prudent to concur in measures which they found themselves too weak to oppose with success. The two houses, with their accustomed unanimity and zeal, made provision for an extraordinary debt contracted by the ministry, in fitting out an expedition which had failed in an attempt on the coast of France; and in congratulating the Queen on the successes of the war, they did not forget to compliment the hero, to whose valor and military genius the nation was so highly indebted: they renewed the thanks of parliament for his important services, and passed a bill to perpetuate his titles to posterity, in the female as well as the male line, and continued to his family for ever five thousand pounds a year, which the Queen had granted during her own life.

THE uncertainty of human greatness and felicity is an observation which lies level with every understanding, and is the hackneyed topic on which every moralist largely expatiates; but

but, surely, my friend, that grandeur which depends on the favor of princes has the least permanency in it of every other earthly blessing. LETTER IV.

I HAVE already informed you that Queen Anne, from affection and habit, had been awed into such an implicit obedience, as to act in every particular agreeable to the judgment, the interest, and the inclination of the Duchess of Marlborough; but the most ductile minds, when possessed of power, are at times tenacious of their importance; and the Queen, notwithstanding the familiarity with which she suffered her favorite to treat her, was excessively fond of the parade of royalty, and apt to be highly disgusted at the omission of any little ceremony usually paid to princes. Unhappily for the Duchess of Marlborough, her haughty temper was little suited to this humor in her mistress; she could not stoop to compliment the woman she entirely governed; and her fiery, imperious temper often urged her to contradict the Queen, with a warmth and rudeness which might with propriety have been resented by a companion in a station inferior to her own. When the Queen, by repeated disgusts, became to regret her servitude, and to discover that regret to her watchful attendants, she was soon taught to consider it as an intolerable indignity. In vain had the Duchess barred every avenue to the royal presence; in vain had

LETTER IV. she surrounded the throne with her creatures and dependents: these very dependents seized every opportunity, which her violent temper and uncourtly manner gave them, to supplant her in the affections of the Queen; and she at length experienced, that a passion for power is common in all characters, and that love itself is not so strong an incentive to breach of trust as ambition.

WHILST the Duchess of Marlborough, in full assurance of the entire possession of the Queen's favor, continued a conduct little calculated either to recover, or even to preserve her mistress's affections, Mrs. Masham, a distant relation of the Duchess of Marlborough, whom she had placed about the person of her mistress in the office of woman of the bed-chamber, was every day undermining her benefactress in the favor of the sovereign.

HAD the Queen been kept under less restraint, perhaps Mrs. Masham might have been contented with enjoying the personal consequences which follow the favor of princes; but without entirely breaking the fetters in which her mistress was held by the Marlborough family, those douceurs would be wanting which you know, my friend, render the friendship of the powerful peculiarly valuable.

IN

IN this situation of things Mrs. Masham found little difficulty to procure the kind assistance of a skilful adviser and abettor. LETTER IV.

MR. Robert Harley had so highly distinguished himself in detecting the parliamentary corruptions practised in the last reign, and also in the debates concerning the disbanding the army, and in sending away the Dutch guards, as to have acquired a high degree of reputation with the independent party in parliament; and, to use the Duchess of Marlborough's own words, " it was for this reason he was pitched upon as a very proper person to manage the house of Commons, on which so much always depends."

MR. Harley had not been long in the office of secretary of state before he found an alteration in the disposition of the Queen, which flattered him with hopes infinitely more ambitious than the acting as an humble instrument in the hands of the Marlborough faction; by the means of his relation, Mrs. Masham, he had frequent secret interviews with her Majesty, and in these interviews he expatiated largely on the indignity offered royalty in the rendering the sovereign subservient to the views and interest of one family, and their connections; of closeting up the Queen from the knowledge and the approach of those of her subjects who had a pre-

LETTER IV. tence from their birth and situation to such an honor; and he inculcated a maxim, which is good in itself, but, very unhappily for this country, has never been either judiciously pursued or fairly intended, viz. the utility of forming a ministry promiscuously of whig and tory, without respect to party feud and party principle.

THE Queen, who loved power, though totally incapable of exercising it independently, burnt with a desire of seeing herself at the head of a ministry entirely subservient to her will and direction; nor could the new favorite, or the secretary, be more impatient for power, than was her Majesty to put herself under the direction of new governors, on the specious hope of becoming entirely mistress over those who, agreeable to the courtly phrase, are termed the servants of the crown.

BESIDES this new bias in the Queen's mind, she was too ardent to be capacious in her friendship; in proportion as her love to Mrs. Masham increased, she grew cold to the Duchess of Marlborough; nor was it before every spark of former kindness was extinct, that the Duchess, lulled to ideal security in the contemplation of her dignity and importance, perceived a dangerous rival in the person of her cousin Masham.

ONE must, my friend, be thoroughly acquainted with the LETTER IV.
character and disposition of the Duchess of Marlborough, to have an adequate idea of the rage which possessed her soul on the conviction that the Queen had presumed to give to another that favor which she had once so fully enjoyed herself, or that a dependent of her own should have the insolence and ingratitude to have attempted the supplanting her in her mistress's affection: in this tempest which rage had raised in her mind, she raved at Mrs. Masham, she expostulated with the Queen, and this in a manner as impetuous, though without the tenderness which often accompanies the upbraidings of a jealous lover.

THE Queen, either from long-accustomed submission, or from backwardness in confessing the estrangement of so violent an affection, at first endeavored to soothe the Duchess's passion, and to calm her apprehensions; but in vain: the Queen was threatened with a motion in the house of Commons for the removal of Mrs. Masham, as a mischievous incendiary; the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin complained to the Queen of Harley's intrigues, and on not receiving a satisfactory answer, they threatened to resign their places.

AN attack upon her favorite was a very tender point with Anne. Queen Mary's insisting on the dismissal of the
Duchess

LETTER IV. Dukes of Marlborough, then Lady Churchill, from her service, had occasioned a quarrel between the two sisters, which never was made up; nor was her resentment less violent, or less lasting, on the present provocation. From this period the Dukes of Marlborough, whom she considered as the author of these affronts, became the object of her aversion; and though Harley thought it prudent for the present to give way to the power of the party, both the Queen and her secretary determined to avail themselves of the first favorable opportunity to get rid of a ministry which, for different reasons, were equally intolerable to them both.

HARLEY'S intrigues were not confined to the cabinet; he found means to foment the jealousies, which the Duke of Marlborough's having engrossed all the highest offices of the state had occasioned in both parties, to such a height, that when the parliament met in 1708, severe observations were made in both houses on the general conduct of affairs: the continuation of the war after 1706, without the giving any attention to the proposals of France, did not pass without animadversion; a total rout of the English and Dutch on the plains of Almanza, in Spain; and the loss of ten thousand men, either killed or taken prisoners, induced the two houses to enter into an enquiry into the management of the war, and it was found that there were not above half the troops in

in Spain that the parliament had made provision for, and that LETTER IV.
in a manner the whole expence of the war in that country
was thrown entirely on the English.

IN consequence of a petition from the merchants, a committee of examination was appointed; the merchants were required to prove all their complaints by witnesses on oath; and in the prosecution of the business it appeared, that ships of war which had been fitted out to put to sea, were suffered to decay in the ports; that cruizers were not ordered to proper places in the channel; that convoys had been often flatly denied the merchants, and that when they were promised, they were so long delayed that the merchants lost their markets.

THE report which the committee brought into the House was, on a motion of the treasurer's, transmitted to the Prince of Denmark, who returned an answer, in which he attempted to justify the several charges contained in the report, and in which he endeavored to palliate the present losses, by asserting, that in King William's wars four thousand merchantmen had been taken by the enemy.

THE pleading example for the abuse of trust, and the neglect of the most important concerns of the nation, is, my
friend,

LETTER IV. friend, a strange kind of justification; however, though from the delicacy of the Lords, the Prince of Denmark was neither mentioned in the report of the committee, blamed in the debates, or censured in the address, the Queen pretended to be highly offended, but in her answer she promised in general terms to protect the trade of the kingdom, and assured the two houses that all past errors should be corrected in future.

WHILST the tories, in conjunction with the disappointed whigs, were carrying motions in the upper house calculated to throw disgrace on those who had the management of the public affairs, a sudden alarm from France, by equally terrifying all parties, strengthened the hands of the ministry, and disappointed, for a time, the views of the discontented factions.

ALTHOUGH all parties in the English parliament had united in their endeavors to allay the discontents of the Scots, by rendering the union, which according to the opinion of their countryman, Bishop Burnet, was partially favorable to the inhabitants of the north side of the Tweed, yet more desirable, in taking away the power of the privy council, in putting the militia of Scotland on the same footing as that in England, and in passing laws for a more impartial and a more expeditious administration of justice than what had hitherto

hitherto taken place in that kingdom; yet, my friend, it was impossible to abate the prejudices of the nation in general against a measure which they had been taught to believe was calculated to deprive them of the small degree of liberty which remained to them after the restoration of the Stewart family. LETTER IV.

ON the hopes that the future interest of factions would be overlooked in the present phrensy of resentment, the jacobite party in Scotland were incessant in their solicitations with the court of France to afford a small supply of men and arms, for the purpose of possessing themselves of the government of Scotland, and from thence, in conjunction with the French auxiliaries, to distress London, by the immediate seizure of Newcastle, and by stopping the coal trade.

IT must be confessed that the scheme, on the supposition that the Scots would be unanimous in its execution, was a very practicable one. Godolphin, whose prejudices, it is supposed, always ran in favor of the excluded family, had left Scotland in a defenceless condition; the castles and forts were in a ruinous state and destitute of military stores; there were only two thousand five hundred troops in the country, and these were supposed to be disaffected; the money paid by England as an equivalent was lodged in the castle of Edin-

LETTER IV. burgh; and the act of security had placed arms in the hands of the lower sort of people, of which they had not yet been deprived by the repeal of the law.

It was on this representation of things that the French court, in their present distress of men and money, suffered themselves to be prevailed on to prepare a squadron of men of war, consisting of five ships equipped for action, and two fitted for transports; and it was not till the pretended King of Scotland, or the Chevalier St. George, as he was now termed by the French, arrived at Dunkirk, that the English ministry had certain intelligence of the destination of the fleet, which, when communicated to the parliament, all opposition to the measures of government ceased; the two houses joined in the usual address of lives and fortunes; they passed a bill, enacting, that the oath of abjuration should be tendered, and such as refused to take it should be in the condition of convicted recusants; they suspended the habeas corpus act; the Pretender and his adherents were proclaimed traitors and rebels; the Commons granted all the demanded supplies; and a bill was passed, discharging the clans of Scotland from all vassalage to those chiefs who should take up arms against her Majesty.

MANY

MANY of the Queen's servants, says Burnet, had studied, LETTER IV.
though against all sense and reason, to distinguish her title
from the Revolution; but her Majesty was now so much
alarmed with the attempt to deprive her of regal power,
that she was observed to alter her former stile; and in her
speeches which she made on the occasion to the two houses,
she named the Revolution twice, and said, she would look
on those who had been concerned in it as the surest to her
interest.

THE preparations of the ministry kept pace with the
Queen's fears; a large fleet was equipped with diligence, and
sent towards Dunkirk under the conduct of Sir John Leake,
Sir George Byng, and Lord Dursley; ten battalions of English
troops were ordered from Flanders, and the regiments quar-
tered in the south of Ireland were directed to march towards
the north, for the convenience of a short passage to Scotland.

THE British fleet having been driven back to the Downs
by a strong wind, Count Fourbin, who commanded the
French squadron, availed himself of the opportunity, and
sailed for the coast of Scotland; but he was followed so close
by the enemy, that the two squadrons arrived almost at the
same time in the Frith of Edinburgh.

LETTER IV. THE French commander, Count Fourbin, who had repeatedly represented to his master the little probability of succeeding in the enterprise, did not wait for an attack, but taking the advantage of a land breeze, sailed away, to the great mortification of the Chevalier, who had such sanguine expectations of being strongly supported by the Scotch, that he desired, with tears in his eyes, to be set on shore, though none should follow him but his own domestics.

THE suddenness with which the nation was relieved from fears, which ran so high as to endanger the public credit, with a successful campaign in Flanders, where the Duke of Marlborough had defeated the French near Oudenarde, raised the siege of Brussels, and retaken Ghent and Bruges, towns which the French had recovered through the treachery of the magistrates, bid fair to render permanent the power which the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin had acquired by the expulsion of Harley from the council.

THE whigs, who were from the first, and yet continued, zealous promoters of the war, were for this reason the natural allies to Marlborough; some alteration was made in the disposal of places to the contentment of the party; and the friends of the Revolution were at this time in such general
favor,

favor, that a large whig majority in the ensuing parliament was easily secured in the house of Commons. LETTER IV.

THE tories, who, encouraged with the supposed countenance of the Queen, had begun to grumble a little at the enormous yet increasing expence of a war, from which England had no prospect of deriving either territory or power, were now awed into a perfect submission; the two houses were unanimous for the carrying on the war; seven millions were voted for the service of the ensuing campaign; and an augmentation of ten thousand men was added to the establishment of the preceding year.

THE death of Prince George of Denmark, who, after languishing several months, had expired on the twenty-eighth of October, 1708, afforded the two houses an opportunity of paying their court to the Sovereign: previous to the death of the Prince, the Queen had sustained the severe mortification of losing all her children; she was now in the forty-fourth year of her age, and very subject to the gout, a disease which, above all others, hastens the infirmities of age. On these considerations, after the Prince's decease, she had ordered, as head of the church, that the form of prayer, for issue of her body to succeed her to the throne, should be discontinued: the two houses addressed her on the occasion; they

LETTER IV. they intreated her to moderate her grief, and to entertain thoughts of a second marriage; the Queen in return said, that the provision which she had made for the protestant succession would always be a proof of her wishes for the happiness of the kingdom, but that the subject of their address was of such a nature, that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer.

THE most important transaction in this session of parliament was the extending the English law in regard to treason to Scotland, and in giving a legal sanction to an expedient which the ministry had fallen on to raise the immense sums which the parliament had granted to the crown.

FROM the period of the Revolution it had been the common practice of government to run the nation in debt, that is, for the parliament to grant more money to the crown than they could raise within the year. One debt, without an entire change in the system of œconomy, naturally produces many; the necessities of the state increasing every year, every probable measure was pursued to facilitate the loan of money, and to introduce a credit founded on paper currency, which was to make up for the deficiency of real treasure, King William's wars having drained the kingdom of the greater part of its bullion.

PURSUANT

PURSUANT to this scheme, in 1693 a bank was established LETTER IV.
on the principle of a transferable fund, and a circulation
by bill, on the credit of a large capital. As there are never
wanting in any society individuals ready to adopt any mea-
sure, or forward any scheme which promises even a temporary
self-interest, five hundred thousand pounds was immediately
subscribed, as a fund of ready money to circulate one mil-
lion at eight per cent., which million was to be lent to the
government, and the subscribers were incorporated by the
name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England,
under a proviso, that at any time after the first day of August,
1711, upon a year's notice, and the repayment of the twelve
hundred thousand pounds, the said corporation should cease.

OF all human errors, the errors of government are the sel-
domest corrected: instead of avoiding those measures which,
during William's administration, had so evidently impove-
rished the nation, rage for war and conquest infected our
councils the greater part of Queen Anne's reign; in propor-
tion to the increasing expences of the war, the difficulty of
raising supplies yearly increased; and the Commons, instead
of paying off any part of the national debt, and getting rid
of a swarm of stock jobbers and tax gatherers, which preyed
on the vitals of the commonwealth, this session voted an
enlargement of the bank almost to three millions, and pro-
longed

LETTER IV. longed the duration of the company to one and twenty years: the terms obtained for these advantages were, four hundred thousand pounds at six per cent. and the circulation of two millions four hundred thousand pounds in exchequer bills.

WHILST the interest of England was thus sacrificed to the alternate triumph of party, and the cabals of jarring factions; whilst her blood and treasure were thus draining to establish the power and grandeur of the house of Austria, and the security of the States-General, France was reduced to extremities by the success of her arms the last campaign in Flanders, which to appearance had established the influence of the Marlborough junto over the councils of England, beyond the power even of the Queen to shake, and threatened the almost total extinction of the French monarchy. The taking of Lille exposed France to an invasion on the side of Flanders; on the side of Dauphine, the Duke of Savoy, by making himself master of the important fortresses of Exilles, La Perouse, the valley of St. Martin, and Fenestrelles, had secured a barrier to his own frontiers, and opened a way into the French provinces. The finances of the kingdom were reduced to the lowest ebb. In imitation of the English exchequer bills, Lewis had issued mint bills; but all the various methods of raising money on credit failed.

UNHAPPILY

UNHAPPILY for England, the great opinion which prevailed of the certainty of parliamentary security gave her the privilege of incurring a debt beyond the power of any other kingdom. In these circumstances of his finances, Lewis was neither able to pay, to cloath, or to feed his troops; and, in aggravation of a scene of such accumulated distress, a very inclement winter had produced a kind of famine in the land.

THAT haughtiness and pride with which Lewis had hitherto treated all the sovereigns in Europe was now sufficiently humbled to offer very debasing proposals, and in a manner to sue to the allies for peace. In the beginning of the year 1709 the president, Rouille, was sent on this errand to Antwerp, and in this place he had several conferences with the deputies Buys and Vanderdussen. From Antwerp, Rouille proceeded to the Hague; the States were offered a good barrier, and other advantages, but they refused to enter on the subject of a treaty without the participation of the allies. Expresses were sent to the courts of Vienna and Great-Britain, and, according to the particular request of the States, Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Duke of Marlborough, were fully empowered by their respective sovereigns to settle the terms of peace.

LETTER IV. IT has already been observed, my friend, that the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy were, on motives of lucre and ambition, very averse to any terms of reconciliation with France. The power and importance of Heinffius, the pensionary of Holland, did also in a great measure depend on his connection with the belligerent powers: he had been raised to the office of first minister to the States by King William; had been trusted with all his political secrets; was acquainted with the utmost extent of the design on which his patron formed the confederacy against the house of Bourbon; and for these reasons, whilst the war continued, his councils were implicitly followed.

You may easily perceive, my friend, that the negotiation in these hands was not likely to produce the much-desired peace. On the arrival of the Duke of Marlborough, he at once put a stop to the conferences, by informing the States that he had orders to prevent all farther advances towards a treaty, should France refuse to extend her offers in favor of the Emperor and Great-Britain; whilst Prince Eugene insisted, that the entire cession of the Spanish monarchy, together with the re-establishment of the treaty at Munster, should be an indispensable preliminary to the projected treaty.

WHEN

WHEN the news arrived that the negociation was interrupted, without any advancement towards peace, the French King and his council gave themselves up to all the terrors of despair: such was the confusion which the desperate state of the kingdom produced in their minds, that they broke up without coming to any resolution. Monsieur de Torcy, secretary for foreign affairs, offered his services to endeavor to soften the inflexibility of the negociators, and was sent by the King to Holland with the following humiliating terms:

LETTER IV.

That the King of France would agree to yield the whole Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, without any equivalent:

To cede her conquests on the Empire upon the Upper Rhine:

To give Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Lille, Conde, and Mabeuge, for a barrier to Holland:

To acknowledge the Elector of Brandenburg as King of Prussia; the Duke of Hanover as ninth Elector of the Empire:

LETTER IV.

To own the title of Queen Anne to the British crown :

To remove the Pretender from the dominions of France :

To recognise the succession of the throne of Great-Britain in the protestant line :

To restore his possessions to the Duke of Savoy : and

To agree to the cessions made to the King of Portugal by his treaty with the allies.

MODERATION in success, my friend, has ever been found a more uncommon virtue than patience in adversity. The Dutch, so famous for a strict attention to the solid interests of their republic, and who had extricated themselves by the firmness of their conduct from difficulties superior to those in which their enemy, Lewis, was at present involved, were now intoxicated with a reverse of fortune which had brought the same monarch, who was once on the point of subduing their republic, at their feet.

THE Duke of Marlborough's ambition was no less elevated than to the conquest of France, and the plunder of her provinces ; and his importance at home visibly depended

on

on the continuation of a war, from which he expected such glorious consequences: he had failed to England, in the intent to frustrate some secret attacks made by his enemies in the cabinet: on his return, accompanied by the Viscount Townshend as ambassador extraordinary to the States, and joint plenipotentiary from Great-Britain for treating concerning the terms of peace, the conferences were renewed. LETTER IV.

THE Marquis de Torcy, who had posted in disguise to Holland on the faith of a common blank passport, had previously taken every measure, and made use of every argument, which might rationally induce the States to prefer the blessings of peace, security, and advantageous commerce, to the burthen of excessive taxes in the prosecuting of a war, the event of which must necessarily be in some measure doubtful; he solicited their friendship, he soothed their resentment, he flattered their pride; but in vain: their councils were wholly influenced by Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough. After several fruitless conferences, the pensionary Heinssius framed forty preliminary articles, as the ultimatum of the allies: in these they insisted upon the restitution of the Upper and Lower Alsace to the Empire; upon the French monarch's restoring Strasburgh, in its present condition; upon his ceding the town and castellany of Lisle; the demolishing Dunkirk, New Brisac, Fort Louis, and Hunningen; and
upon

LETTER IV. upon his surrendering the strongest towns in his dominions, as pledges for the entire evacuation of the Spanish dominions by his grandson.

WHEN the forty preliminaries were shewed to the French King, his former consternation gave way to an indignant resentment; he rejected them with disdain; and applied the same remedy to remove the despair of the people, by publishing his own concessions and the demands of the allies: a new spirit at once animated the whole nation; the King himself wrote to all the governors a particular relation of his transactions in Holland; the people fancied themselves affronted in the indignity offered their monarch; and, with an astonishing alacrity, prepared themselves to withstand, by new efforts, the tremendous power of the enemy.

No sooner were the conferences broke up for the re-establishment of peace, than the allies employed themselves in making vigorous preparations for the war. Flanders, from whence it was intended to penetrate into the heart of France, was pitched on as the great scene of action; and Prince Eugene condescended to second the Duke of Marlborough in those ambitious designs which had undoubtedly frustrated the conclusion of a peace, highly honorable and advantageous.

THE army of the allies, augmented with eight thousand Saxons which the Duke of Marlborough had negotiated with King Augustus, amounted to one hundred and ten thousand combatants, well appointed, in high spirits, and rendered almost irresistible by the consciousness of former success. They were opposed by a very inferior army of Frenchmen, commanded by the Marechal de Villars, who had been the least unfortunate, because the least daring, of any of the French generals. LETTER IV.

VILLARS had taken care to occupy so strong a post between Couriere and the town of Bethune, which covered both his wings, whilst the villages of La Basse and Pont Avendin defended his front, that the enemy, though extremely anxious to engage, did not think fit to venture an attack; but on hearing that the garrison of the town of Tournay had been weakened by the draft of five thousand men to strengthen Villars's army, they sat down before that town, which, though the best fortified in all Europe, and very advantageously situated for defence, was surrendered by the governor, with the citadel, in the space of seven weeks,

AFTER the surrender of Tournay, the allies formed the design of besieging Mons, but were interrupted in their progress by the movement of the French army. Villars having
received

LETTER IV. received a strong reinforcement, under the command of the Marechal Boufflers, passed the Scarpe, and intrenched his army at Malplaquet, a village within a league's distance from Mons. The fate of France depended on this army: the general was thoroughly sensible of its importance, and spared no labour to preserve it. Along a narrow plain, opposed to his centre, he drew very deep trenches, one behind the other, and covered the whole with a row of trees; his two wings were defended with deep and impenetrable woods: but neither the natural advantage of the situation, or the precaution of the general, deterred the allied army from attempting to dislodge the enemy from their strong post.

IN the night of the tenth of September the two armies ranged themselves in a complete order of battle, and at eight o'clock in the morning, on the eleventh, began the most obstinate contest perhaps ever known in the annals of modern wars. An uninterrupted success had raised the courage of the allied army to a degree of enthusiasm, and despair had produced a resolution almost unconquerable in the French. Villars placed himself at the head of his left wing, and committed the charge of his right to the Marechal de Boufflers. Of the allied army, the British troops were opposed to the left of the enemy, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to their centre. The Duke of Argyle, at the head of the
British

British troops, charged the left wing of the enemy with such an irresistible impetuosity, that they gave way: Villars was obliged to weaken his centre in order to withstand the fierce assault; this movement had its effect; his troops rallied, formed themselves again in order of battle, and drove the enemy back; the Dutch made some small impression on the right wing of the enemy, but were also driven back in their turn. In this state of the battle, the two commanders of the allied army, it is said, actually entertained thoughts of desisting from the attack, when General Cadogan perceiving the void left in the centre of the enemy by the troops called by Villars to support his left wing, Prince Eugene was encouraged to attack in person the intrenchments in that place, and leading some fresh battalions to the charge, entered the line of the enemy, and forced a regiment of French guards to fly. Villars, whilst hastening to support his centre, was wounded and carried off the field; this accident would have been fatal to the French, but for the steadiness of the Marechal de Boufflers; he dispersed the German cavalry after they had entered his lines; but being driven back in his turn by the enemy, who had rallied again, and by their steady motions and firm countenances shewed the most obstinate resolution to gain the field of battle or die in the attempt, he determined to put an end to a contest, which on the side of the French might be attended with the most fatal conse-

LETTER IV. quences, and prudently withdrew his army, leaving the enemy no spoil, but the reputation only of having gained the well-fought battle, and the remaining masters of a field covered with near forty thousand men, comprehending the wounded and the slain.

THE French generals, by a regular retreat with troops which had been often routed and totally subdued, and this before the whole united force of the allies, gained, in the opinion of their countrymen, a glory almost equal to victory; whilst those, who were not the passionate admirers of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, at the same time that they gave due praises to those great abilities and that undaunted courage which had extricated them with honor from an enterprise rash and hazardous, yet, as they observed, that either Mons might have been taken without a battle, or, at least, the confederates might have had the choice of their own ground; their praises were mixed with censures at a temerity which, but for the sedate and uncommon courage of their troops, might have sullied the glories of a long war, and which, to say the best of it, betrayed a want of humanity, in throwing away the lives of thousands without any necessity. The loss of the allies in this action amounted to twenty thousand men, that of the French to less than nine thousand.

Mons

MONS was invested by the allied army on the twenty-fifth of September, it surrendered on the twentieth of October. LETTER IV.

Thus finished, on the side of Flanders, the campaign of seventeen hundred and nine, which, though it did not prove so fatal to the French as they had great reason to apprehend, yet the wretched condition of France, and the great facility with which the English court borrowed immense sums to supply the war, threatened the state and nation with ultimate ruin from the continuation of the unequal contest.

LEWIS, either from necessity or in the intention of shewing his sincerity to the allies, had actually withdrawn his forces from Spain: the pride of this haughty monarch was so far humbled by the necessity of his affairs, that he condescended to renew to the States-General his solicitations for peace. The States-General had not forgot the treachery and unprovoked injuries and insults they had formerly received from Lewis; it was now their turn to assume the insolent airs of a conqueror, and by such conduct to give to Lewis a lively sense of what he had formerly inflicted on their prostrate state. They refused the granting any passes for the King's commissioners to go to the Hague; however, they permitted Pettekum, the envoy of Holstein, to make a journey to Paris, to know what further offers the court of

LETTER IV. France was ready to make to the confederates? Lewis proposed, instead of the preliminaries signed by the allies in the preceding year, to reduce their own concessions into a more comprehensive, but an equally ample form: he engaged himself to acknowledge Charles the Third as King of Spain; to withdraw all succours from his grandson; to forbid his subjects to enlist in his service; to consent that no part of the Spanish monarchy should ever be united with France; to restore to the Emperor the city of Strasburg, and the town of Brisac; to content himself with Alsace, in the literal sense of the treaty of Munster; to cede the town of Landau; to rase all his fortifications on the Rhine from Basil to Philippsburgh; to acknowledge the King of Prussia and the Elector of Hanover; to acknowledge Queen Anne, and the protestant succession; to demolish the fortifications and to ruin the harbour of Dunkirk; to consent that the Pretender should be banished from the French dominions; to yield to the States the barrier specified in the preliminaries, and to confirm his former offers in regard to their trade; to grant to the Duke of Savoy all that the allies had demanded in his favor, and, in return, that the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne should be restored to their territories and dignities.

OPPRESSION, it is said, my friend, will make a wise man mad; but the reverse was at present the case: success, and the
personal

personal influence of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, had certainly disordered the senses and infatuated the councils of the Dutch ministry; they rejected the ample concessions made by Lewis, and obstinately insisted that his most Christian Majesty should declare, in plain and expressive terms, that he consented to all the preliminaries, except the thirty-seventh article, which stipulated a cessation of arms in case the Spanish monarchy should be delivered to King Charles in the space of two months; and for this article, Pettekum said, the allies would send passports to the French ministers to treat of an equivalent.

LETTER IV.

“TAKE physic, Pomp,” you know, my friend, is an admired expression in one of the most famous plays of our divine poet, Shakespeare. The draught imposed by the States, though bitter as wormwood, Lewis was obliged to swallow: he dispatched the Marechal d’Huxelles and the Abbé de Polignac to treat with the allies on their own proposals; but on the pretence that the French King sought an opportunity to effect by artifice what he could not obtain by the way of arms, or fair treaty, the plenipotentiaries were not suffered to enter Holland, but were met by the deputies, Buys and Vanderdussen, at Gertruzdenberg, where Lewis’s ministers were subjected to a variety of mortifications; they complained that their accommodations were mean, that their
letters

LETTER IV. were opened, that they were daily insulted by injurious libels, that they were confined to a small fortified town, and that their conduct was narrowly watched.

AT the particular request of the Dutch, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough were sent by their respective sovereigns to give their advice concerning the object of the congress; and in return for this compliment, and in full assurance of their influence over Heinfius, without whose advice the States took no step of importance, they induced the Emperor and the Queen of Great-Britain to throw the whole negociation into the hands of the Republic: but never did the Dutch trifle away so fair an opportunity; their deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the insuperable difficulties which retarded the negociation, during the course of which the French agreed to relinquish every demand of an equivalent for the cession of the Spanish monarchy; they offered a subsidy of a million of livres a month to the allies, till King Philip should be driven from Spain; they entirely relinquished Alsace to the Emperor; and, as security for the performance of the articles of the treaty, engaged to deliver the fortified towns of French Flanders into the hands of the allies.

IN

IN proportion as France increased in her concessions, the States rose in their demands; they insisted on Lewis's effecting the cession of Spain and the Indies to the house of Austria, and submitting to every other article specified in the preliminaries; and even reserved to themselves the power of making ulterior demands when the preliminaries should be adjusted. After a tedious and ineffectual negotiation, which lasted from the nineteenth of March to the twenty-fifth of July, the plenipotentiaries returned to France: at their departure, they sent a letter to the pensionary Heinssius, in which they declared, that the proposals made by the Dutch deputies were unjust and impracticable, and in which they complained of personal ill treatment. LETTER IV.

THE States-General resolved, that the enemy had departed from the foundation on which the negotiation was begun, and had studied pretences to evade the execution of the capital points, the restitution of Spain and the Indies, and that France had no other view than to create and sow jealousies among the allies; and Lord Townshend, in a memorial, assured them, that the Queen entirely approved their resolution, and all the steps they had taken in the course of the negotiation; and that she was firmly resolved to prosecute the war with all possible vigor, until the enemy should accept.

LETTER IV. cept such terms of peace as might secure the tranquility of the christian world.

OH, my friend, how uncertain are those expectations which are dependent on the caprice of individuals! It was not many years past that the States had been the egregious dupes of the cabinet politics of the courts of France and Spain, and had very near lost their independent existence as a state, through their unbounded confidence in the faith of princes; and at this time, that the Queen of Great-Britain was making them such large professions, a cabal, at which her Majesty was at the head, was forming in her court, to undermine the power and influence of their great friend and ally the Duke of Marlborough, and consequently to overturn that system of politics which had been so inimical to France, and so friendly to the pretensions of the court of Vienna, and to those of the States-General.

THE Marlborough junto, abetted by the whig faction, and retaining the unbounded confidence of the people, were in a great measure independent of the changed affections of the Queen: encouraged with this circumstance, the Dukes of Marlborough continued to oppose with violence the present bent of her mistress's inclination. But, my friend, in a country like this, where party prejudices prevail in a manner
to

to destroy even common sense ; where the interested and the ignorant make up the great mass of the people, the favor of the multitude, as it is always founded on whim and error, is as uncertain as the favor of princes. That appetite for war, which had raged to such an height as to render the people joyous under the burthen of enormous and unnecessary taxes, began visibly to decline : a want of attention to the interests of the nation in the manner of conducting the war, and in the terms imposed on the French King, where cities, provinces, and monarchies, were transferred to the rest of the confederates, whilst England, who had contributed so largely to the war, was admitted to no part of the spoil ; a neglect of the war in Spain ; the inactivity of the fleet ; and the decay of trade, for want of protection from French privateers ; were accusations and complaints carried to the press, and echoed from the pulpit. These observations were founded in truth, and as such must have had their effect with the few sensible citizens ; but as the multitude are never affected with any rational principles of opposition and complaint, it was found expedient to assist argument with declamation, and to renew with violence the unmeaning cry of the danger of the church.

HENRY Sacheveril, a divine of very moderate abilities and no large extent of learning, had preached for several years on

LETTER IV. this topic: in a sermon delivered on the fifth of November at St. Paul's in London, in the year 1709, he inveighed with bitterness against the ministry, the dissenters, and low church; he asserted the doctrine of non-resistance; he declared that religion was in danger, and exhorted the people to stand up in defence of the church, for which, he said, he sounded the trumpet, and desired them to put on the whole armour of God. The court of aldermen did not pay him the usual compliment on the occasion; but, however, on pretence that it was done by the desire of the Lord Mayor, he printed his sermon, with a dedication to his Lordship; four thousand of these discourses were quickly dispersed over the nation; and the ministry, who were perhaps more enraged at the personal reflections thrown on themselves, than the libellous expressions against the liberties of the constitution, treated it in such a serious manner, as to deviate from the common rule of law in the prosecution of Sacheveril.

ON a review of the conduct of both parties, my friend, I am at a loss to determine which is most worthy of ridicule, the ministry, in arming all the powers of government in their attack on an obscure and insignificant individual, or the public, in the support of a culprit, whose doctrine was more odious than his insolence, and his principles yet more contemptible than his parts.

ACCORDING

ACCORDING to the wise determination of the ministry, LETTER IV. complaint of the sermon was made in the house of Commons: on the fourteenth day of December, Sacheveril was ordered to attend; he was taken into custody, and impeached.

AT no period of the English history, in no exigence of the state, in no period of the constitution, was the attention of the public equally roused. By the tories Sacheveril was extolled as a martyr, who stood alone unsubdued in defence of the constitution of church and state: by the whigs, he was more properly called a popish persecutor, an enemy to the Revolution, a devoted friend to the Pretender: the press teemed with daily productions on both sides of the question; and the whole artillery of party jargon was exerted with violence.

WITH the view of giving the more solemnity to the trial, but which indeed rendered it truly farcical, the Commons resolved to assist in a grand committee: Westminster-Hall was prepared at a great expence of money and time; on the twenty-seventh of February, 1710, the trial began; the articles exhibited against Dr. Sacheveril were four in number; they affirmed, that the Doctor suggested and maintained that the necessary means for effectuating the Revolution were odious and unjustifiable; that the toleration to dissenters was

LETTER IV. both unseasonable and unwarrantable; that the church of England was in danger under the Queen's administration; that there were persons in office who endeavored to overturn the constitution; and that through the whole management of affairs, there was a general mal-administration and corruption. Sacheveril denied the charge; his counsel attempted to shew, that his expressions, without being wrested from their true meaning, could not be applied to the crimes of which he was accused; and Sacheveril concluded the defence with reading a speech, in which he justified his doctrines with heat, yet expressed his respect for the Queen and her government.

IN an assembly whose importance is founded on the principle of resistance, it is not to be imagined, that the doctrine of passive obedience to kings would find many advocates; however, the illiberal voice of party was as loud in the debates of the Lords as in the clamorous discourses of the multitude: several peers, who avowed their concern in the Revolution, affirmed, that those who examined it least were its best friends. It was said by a bishop, that a veil ought to be thrown over that transaction; that men should rather call it a vacancy, and an abdication, than receive its benefits as the consequence of resistance. The Duke of Leeds improved on the Bishop's refinement, and said, that a distinction ought to

to be made between resistance and revolution; that vacancy, or abdication, was the subject of the debates of the convention; and that resistance, a word both dangerous and odious, ought for ever to be forgot. LETTER IV.

As reason and good sense were on the other side of the question, it was no difficult task to confute the opinions of Sacheveril's tory advocates; he was declared guilty by a majority of seventeen: but whether through fear of the multitude, or from the apprehension that the prisoner was secretly patronised by the Queen, his punishment was limited to a suspension from preaching for three years, and the sermon was ordered to be burnt in the presence of the Lord Mayor and the sheriffs of London.

THE time of the trial, which lasted three weeks, was a period of triumph and high exultation to Sacheveril. Never prophet, honored with the divine commission of declaring religious truths to a believing people; never patriot, on the point of being exalted to the crown of martyrdom for the cause of equal law and liberty, had been attended by the populace with such officious zeal as was now the popular Sacheveril. The multitude, exulting in that determined state of slavery to which the Doctor had consigned the whole human race, thronged the preacher as he passed the streets
in

LETTER IV. in his way to and from Westminster-Hall; some prostrated themselves before him; others strove to kiss his hands; the air on all sides sounded with acclamations of applause; those who did not join in the shout, at the word "the church and Sacheveril!" were insulted and knocked down; money was occasionally thrown among the riotous mob, who by such methods were animated to so high a pitch of diabolical phrensy, that they killed several of the inferior class, pulled down dissenting meeting-houses, threatened the peers of the opposite party with violence, and insulted those members of parliament who were not in the interest of their favorite.

THESE acts of violence undoubtedly influenced the Lords in their sentence on Sacheveril: it was regarded as a victory over the fears of the whigs, and celebrated with bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of triumph, through the whole kingdom. The success of this battery encouraged the cabal to venture on a regular attack on the whig administration: addresses were set on foot from all the different counties, in which the absolute power of the sovereigns of England was asserted; in which all resistance was condemned, under the designation of anti-monarchical and republican principles; in which the Queen's hereditary right was acknowledged; and which mostly concluded with an intimation of the addressers' hopes, that her Majesty would dissolve the present parliament,

ment, and with assurances that in a new election they would
chuse none but such as should be faithful to the crown, and
zealous for the church. LETTER IV.

PLEASING as these strains were to the royal ear, the Queen did not venture publicly to avow her warm approbation; however, the party were assured, by her counsellor and confidant Harley, that her Majesty was only acting a part 'till a favorable opportunity should render it advisable to manifest her real judgment and inclinations.

It was not long that the party were kept in suspense. The Queen, animated into action by the Duke of Marlborough's withstanding her intention to raise Colonel Hill, brother to the favorite, to the command of a regiment of dragoons, vacant by the death of the Earl of Essex, gave the chamberlain's staff to the Duke of Shrewsbury, and in a few weeks after dismissed the Earl of Sunderland from the office of privy seal.

THE removal of the Earl of Sunderland was regarded by both parties as a prelude to the change of the whole ministry: the Tories crowded the presence of the Queen with addresses and congratulations on her conduct; whilst the Whigs endeavored to interest the people in their support by a variety
of

LETTER IV. of tricks and manœuvres. According to the account given by tory writers, they contrived to sink the price of the national stock, by withdrawing their own money from the funds, with symptoms of consternation and panic; and they solicited the interposition of foreign powers: but neither the representations of the directors of the bank of England, nor those of Count Gallas, the Imperial minister, and Buys, the Dutch envoy, who set forth the bad consequences which might result to the grand alliance from a change in her ministry, could effect any alteration.

THE astonishing success which in general had attended the war had kept up the spirits of the people under the burthen of its expence, and had in a great measure supported the popularity of the government; but the intelligence of the disasters with which the campaign closed in Spain gave the ministry the wished-for opportunity of censuring their predecessors in office on a subject on which they had highly magnified their importance, namely, the direction of the war.

AFTER the Commons had, without hesitation, granted the supplies to the amount of more than fourteen millions, the Lords, in consequence of a message from her Majesty, entered into an enquiry into the conduct of the late ministry, and of the military commanders employed by them in Spain; they

they addressed the Queen to free the cabinet council from their oath of secrecy, that a full account of their consultations might be laid before the house; they passed a vote, that the former ministry were highly to be blamed in their neglecting the Spanish war, and in their advising an offensive war in the year 1707, which had been the cause of the loss of the battle of Almanza, and, in consequence, of the miscarriage before Toulon; and in their address to the Queen they mentioned the great profusion of money which had been spent in the service. LETTER IV.

IN the lower house, Harley led his party to enter into an enquiry into several great abuses in the victualling the navy; abuses, which Burnet, by way of apology for his party, tells us “ had been practised for many years, and which was continued as avowedly as ever, though a member of the house, who was a whig, was expelled the assembly for ill practices in this department, and a prosecution ordered against him.”

THE member, my friend, which the good bishop mentions, was no meaner person than Mr. Robert Walpole, who afterwards held the office of prime minister to the two first Georges, and who has been so successfully followed by every succeeding minister in the art of simplifying the nature of

LETTER IV. the government, and removing all the difficulties which would naturally arise from a complicated form, fit, indeed, to please the ignorant speculator, but which wise men in modern ages have agreed to be useless; nay, would be intolerable, if the practice of bribery did not furnish a sufficient antidote.

UPON an examination of the public accounts it appeared, that prodigious sums remained unprovided for in the different departments of the war; the debts of the navy amounted to more than five millions; and the incumbrances of the ordnance and army to one million five hundred thousand pounds.

IT was now become an accustomed practice to grant at every new sessions of parliament more money than could be raised within the year. Harley proposed to the Commons the following project for satisfying all the public debts, and for making good all deficiencies of supplies. The whole debt unprovided for was thrown into one stock to pay an interest of six per cent.; funds were established, which were to commence at the end of five years; and the parliament engaged themselves to make good the interest in the intermediate time. the monopoly of a trade to the South Sea, or coast of Peru, was granted to the proprietors of this stock, who were incorporated into a body for the purpose.

HARLEY'S

HARLEY's proposals met with great applause; the Queen LETTER IV.
created him an Earl, by the double title of Oxford and Mortimer, and conferred on him the office of Lord Treasurer. The preamble to the patent set forth, that he had redeemed the nation from robbery, had restored credit, and had rendered the public great service for many years. Every circumstance in the state of affairs co-operated to render it the interest of Harley to deliver the nation from the curse of a needless, unprofitable, and ruinous war. All the unpopularity of raising large supplies, on a nation overburthened with appropriated taxes, must remain with the treasurer, whilst the glory to be gained in the course of the war would be given to the Duke of Marlborough: besides, to conclude a peace was the only means to reduce this powerful conqueror to the rank of a private subject; and in his present situation, as supreme commander of the army, he was considered as an object of terror.

THOUGH it was very apparent to the judicious that the accumulation of the public debts, and all the growing evils attending them, rendered it necessary to get rid of the war, yet it was no easy task to wean the populace from the exulting pleasures of illuminations and bonfires, or to change in the generality of the nation those opinions which in a manner grew out of the Revolution, and which, since the

LETTER IV. death of the late King, had been carefully propagated by interested individuals. Happily for the success of the pacific schemes of the minister, the death of the Emperor Joseph, in suddenly changing the whole state of affairs, awakened the reflection of thinking men, and led to an alteration in the minds of the multitude. Through the uncommon exertion of his allies, Joseph had recovered all the possessions belonging to the Imperial crown, and had subdued all Lombardy. From an ambition which in this family had formerly been dangerous to the liberties of Europe, Joseph, without regarding his two daughters, left his brother Charles, King of Spain, his universal heir in all the dominions of the house of Austria. Five months after the death of Joseph, Charles was chosen Emperor by the unanimous consent of all the electors. The addition of Spain to the Imperial dominions would in a manner be reviving the formidable power of Charles the Fifth ; and thus the obtainment of the object of the war, undertaken by the grand alliance, would effectually destroy that balance it was intended to preserve.

ENCOURAGED by this circumstance, the Queen, in the same message in which she informed the two houses of the death of the Emperor, told them, that she hoped to be soon in a condition to put a happy end to the war, by a lasting and honorable peace.

IN

IN consequence of these advances, and a strong assurance LETTER IV.
from the two houses that they would support her Majesty in
all her measures for the restoration of the public tranquility,
a private message, by the means of one Gualtier, an obscure
priest, who acted as chaplain to Count Gallas the Imperial
ambassador, and who had been employed as a spy by the
French ministry since the commencement of hostilities, was
sent by the English ministry to the court of France: the
message imported the Queen's earnest desire of peace; it re-
presented the impossibility of a private negociation, as the
ministry were obliged to act with circumspection; and it de-
sired that Lewis would propose to the Dutch a renewal of
the conferences; in which case the ministry promised, that
the English plenipotentiaries should have such instructions,
that it would be impossible for the States-General to prevent
the conclusion of a treaty.

You may imagine, my dear friend, that this message was
received with the highest satisfaction: however, the French
ministry put on an air of consequence, and charged the Abbé
Gualtier to inform his principals, that their master would
hear no more of peace by the way of Holland, but that he
should be glad to put an end to the war by the interposition
of Great-Britain.

LETTER IV. The English ministry, my friend, for the reasons before related, were too earnest in their proposition for a treaty to deny the request of the French court; however, they signified their hopes that Lewis would not offer conditions to Great-Britain less advantageous than those he had proposed to the States-General at the late conferences at Gertruydenberg.

THE Dutch, who had entertained a great jealousy of the new ministry, were highly alarmed with the proposal of treating with France through the mediation of Great-Britain; they rejected the memorial for a general peace sent by Lewis, and transmitted to them by the English court, as conceived in terms too general; and at the same time wrote to the French ministry, that if the French King would resume the negotiation, in concert with the Queen of Great-Britain, he should certainly have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Dutch deputies. Such a message, sent before the opening of the conferences at Gertruydenberg, would have been received with thankfulness; but the tables were now beginning to turn: Lewis resumed his former lofty strain; and the offer of Messieurs the Dutch, as they were termed in derision by the court of Versailles, and who were again to be made sensible of their vast inferiority to crowned heads, was declined with some degree of scorn.

IN

IN consequence of the Dutch refusing to treat on the memorial of the French court, the Abbé Gualtier, accompanied by Prior, the poet, who had resided in France as secretary to the embassies of the Earls of Portland and Jersey, was again dispatched to Versailles with the following preliminary demands of Great-Britain : LETTER IV.

That a barrier should be granted for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another on the Rhine for the Empire :

That the strong places taken from the Duke of Savoy should be restored :

That he should possess such towns and districts in Italy as had been ceded to him in treaties between him and his allies :

That Lewis should acknowledge Queen Anne and the protestant succession, demolish the fortifications at Dunkirk, agree to a new treaty of commerce, yield Gibraltar and Port Mahon to the crown of England, cede the negro trade in America to the English, together with some towns on that Continent where the slaves might be refreshed :

That

LETTER IV. That the crown of Great-Britain should be put in possession of Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, either by way of restitution or cession :

That both nations should continue to enjoy whatever territories they might be possessed of in North-America at the ratification of the treaties :

That a security should be given for the Dutch commerce :

And lastly, That a security should be given that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on the same head.

As Prior had no power to treat, and the French court would not readily agree to propositions which they deemed destructive to the trade of the kingdom, Menager, deputy to the city of Rouen, was sent with full powers to London to treat with the English ministry. On the arrival of Menager the Queen commissioned the Duke of Queensbury, the Earls of Jersey, Dartmouth, and Oxford, and Mr. St. John, secretary of state, to treat. Certain preliminary articles, in substance very much the same with those which had been offered by Prior, were agreed to by the commissioners, signed by Menager, and afterwards by the Earl of Dartmouth and
Mr.

Mr. St. John, by virtue of a warrant granted for that purpose by the Queen. LETTER IV.

WITH a view to a negotiation, the ministry had removed the Viscount Townshend from the office of ambassador to the States-General, and had given it to the Earl of Strafford, a nobleman of moderate abilities, but of high tory principles, and a declared enemy to the interests of the Duke of Marlborough. Strafford was now dispatched to the Hague, with orders to communicate to the pensionary Heinsius the proposals of peace made by the court of France, to signify the Queen's approbation, and to propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble.

THE States-General, far from acquiescing with the pacific measures of the British ministry, sent over Buys as envoy extraordinary to the court of Great-Britain, with directions either to cajole the Queen and her ministry into an alteration of their resolutions, or, with the assistance of a popular cry, to terrify them into a continuance of the war. Buys on his arrival found the temper of the multitude very favorable to the last of these instructions. The return of Prior, accompanied by Menager, had been accidentally discovered; the whigs took the alarm; a jealousy, that the safety and interests of Great-Britain and her allies were to be sacrificed to

LETTER IV. the views of the minister, began to spread; and when Count Gallas, the Imperial minister, published the preliminary articles in a news-paper, as an appeal from the government to the people, they were in general regarded as captious, insidious, and insufficient, and the peace to be expected from them unsafe and dishonorable.

Buy's, finding his remonstrances to the government vain, used all his art to the fomenting the discontents of the public; he invited all malecontents, whether British or foreigners, to his table; he declaimed against the Queen and her ministers, as traitors to their country, enemies to the confederates, and pensioners to France; he connected himself intimately with the Baron de Bothmar, the envoy of the Elector of Hanover; and this minister, at the persuasion of Buy's and several leaders of the whig faction, presented a strong memorial against the preliminaries in the name of his master; the Elector himself, in a letter to the Earl of Oxford, expressed a high disapprobation of the projected peace; the Emperor followed his example, and likewise sent letters to all the circles of Germany, requesting and requiring the Princes to adhere to his cause.

As the prosecution of the war was for the avowed end of enlarging the dominions of this prince, his vehemence can
be

be no matter of surprise: however, the British ministry were LETTER IV.
not to be shaken from their purposes, either by the eager representations of the allies, the intrigues of their ministers, or the murmurs of the people. The Earl of Strafford demanded the immediate concurrence of the States, and declared, that his mistress would look upon any delay on their part as an absolute refusal to comply with her proposition.

FINDING that the Queen persisted in her denial to concert any plan for the prosecution of the war, till they agreed to open the conferences of peace, the States at length yielded to a current they could no longer oppose, and agreed to open the conferences at Utrecht, on the first day of January, seventeen hundred and eleven: passports were granted to the French ministers; and the Queen appointed Robinson, bishop of Bristol, and the Earl of Strafford, her plenipotentiaries at the congress.

WHILST the ministry, by a steady perseverance, were laboring to overcome the obstinacy of the allies, they met with a very unexpected opposition at home: the Earl of Nottingham; on his being disappointed of the office of president of the council on the death of the Earl of Rochester, suffered his resentment to get so far the better of his party principles

LETTER IV. as to join the whigs, whom he hated, in opposition to a measure which his opinion led him highly to approve.

WHEN a motion was made and seconded for an address of thanks to the Queen for the steps she had taken towards a safe and honorable peace, the Earl of Nottingham stood up, and after endeavoring in a long and labored speech to shew the insufficiency of the terms of the preliminaries, he concluded with offering a clause to be inserted in the address, that no peace could be safe and honorable whilst Spain and the West-Indies should be continued to any branch of the house of Bourbon.

THIS motion, calculated to break all the measures of the ministry, was carried by six voices: it was obtained by the sacrifice of principle in the whigs, who agreed to concur with the Earl of Nottingham in his favorite bill against occasional conformity, on the plea that it would preserve the Earl's reputation with the church party, and perhaps induce them to concur in the scheme of overturning the ministry. This bill, which had three times passed the Commons, and had as often been flung out by the Peers, now found a passage through both houses without opposition: the dissenters petitioned in vain for redress; they had the mortification to
find

find that principle had no weight with party, when it obstructed the view of power. LETTER IV.

IN a question agitated concerning the privileges of the Peers of Scotland, as limited by the articles of the union, the opposition found fresh matter to triumph over the court. The Duke of Hamilton having been created a peer of Great-Britain, by the title of the Duke of Brandon, claimed his place in that quality in the house of Lords: the acquiescing conduct of the sixteen Peers rendered it a matter of great consequence to the government to support a pretension which the lawyers deemed an undeniable prerogative of the crown: however, it was argued on the other side, that the prerogative could not operate against an act of parliament; that the treaty of union had made all the Peers of Scotland Peers of Great-Britain in every respect, except in voting in the house of Lords, or sitting in judgment on a Peer; that having transferred their right of voting to sixteen of their own number, they had all the portion of the legislature they had a right to possess; and that their being received into the house in any other way than by election, was to give them the double privilege of being present in their own persons, and in those of their representatives: further it was urged, that, considering the poverty of the Scotch nobility, a minister would have no difficulty in securing a majority in the house of
Lords,

LETTER IV. Lords, by calling them to that assembly by means of new patents.

WHEN the matter came to a final vote, the question was carried against the court by five voices ; but this was the last triumph of the party ; for the minister, driven to extremities by the loss of the first question, had recourse to an expedient which no argument drawn from convenience or necessity can in any respect justify : to gain a certain majority in the house of Lords, twelve Commoners of the tory interest were created Peers, January the second ; at the same time that they were introduced, the Lord Keeper delivered to the house a message from the Queen, desiring them to adjourn till the fourteenth of the month : the anti-courtiers alledged, that the Queen could not send a message to any one house to adjourn without sending it to both ; a debate ensued, and was terminated in favor of the court, by the weight of the new Peers.

ON the plea of necessity, Swift, in his history of the last four years of Queen Anne, has said some plausible things ; but the good sense of this author, if divested of prejudice, would have led him to have seen and discarded such fallacies : the only plea for such an expedient, and it is a very bad one, is cowardice : if the peace was a necessary and advantageous measure, the Queen ought to have exerted her prerogative on
the

the occasion, and trusted the consequences to the experience and conviction of the public; and as the house of Commons were strenuous, and almost unanimous in support of the system of politics adopted by the court, it rendered the minister more inexcusable in setting a precedent of a nature so destructive, that it plainly shewed the prerogative to be a dead weight in the scale of the constitution; that its boasted balances had no real existence; and, provided any degree of virtue was left in the nation, and Englishmen had understood the rationality of those principles they are always talking on, they would, undoubtedly, have taken off the head of the treasurer, as an antidote to the poison. LETTER IV.

THE government made use of the advantages they had acquired by the abuse of the prerogative to retaliate on the enemy: the Duke of Marlborough was the victim on which the vengeance of the minister more severely fell; he had encouraged the allies in their opposition to the peace; in order to strengthen the opposition, and animate the mob to violence, he had invited over Prince Eugene, with new proposals from the Emperor; and, it is said, he had parted with some of his immense treasure to gain votes in the upper house.

WHEN

LETTER IV.

WHEN ministers are in disgrace with the Sovereign, parliaments are encouraged to exercise their duty in enquiries into abuses. The commission for the examination of the public accounts had already fixed disgrace on the Earl of Godolphin: in their report made to the Commons on the twenty-first of December, 1711, was contained the deposition of Sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, charging the Duke of Marlborough, and Cardonnell his secretary, of various peculations; with having received a yearly sum from Sir Solomon, concerned in the contract for furnishing the army with bread; with the having obtained of the Queen ten thousand pounds a year to defray the expence of intelligence; and to have pocketed a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England. The Duke alledged, in his justification, that the present from the Jew was a customary perquisite, which had always been enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army; that the deduction of two and a half per cent. was granted to him by an express warrant from her Majesty; and that all the articles of the charge joined together did not amount to thirty thousand pounds, a sum much inferior to that which had been allowed to King William for contingencies; that the money was expended in procuring intelligence, which was so exact that the Duke was never surprised; that none of his parties were ever intercepted

tercepted or cut off, and all his designs were by these means LETTER IV.
so well concerted that he never once miscarried.

THESE reasons, my friend, would have been sufficient to have satisfied any house of Commons who were not stimulated with stronger incentives than those of doing justice to the public; however, it must be acknowledged, that they were hardly plausible; that the money expended in secret service should have been defrayed by the Duke, and the public afterwards charged with the account. Persons in great offices ought to keep very clear of all practices which are mean and mercenary; such actions set a very bad example to those in more inferior stations; the public becomes to be regarded as public spoil; the great villains wink at the peculations of the small ones; the evil increases from age to age; and thus, as we have seen in our days, the community is robbed by every individual employed in her service.

THE Duke of Marlborough's representations in the present case were of no avail; it was voted by a large majority, that his practices had been unwarrantable and illegal, and that the deduction was to be accounted for as public money.

ON the strength of these resolutions the Queen declared in council her determination to dismiss the Duke of Marlbo-

LETTER IV. rough from all his employments ; a message was accordingly sent to him to this purport ; and moreover, the Attorney-general had orders to prosecute the Duke for the money he had deducted, which, according to Swift, amounted to an immense sum, enough to ruin any other private person ; however, as it was only intended as a curb, the process was so moderately pursued, that it was kept dependent during the Queen's life, in order to be revived or slackened according to the behavior of the defendant.

WALPOLE had early distinguished himself as a warm partisan of the whig interest ; it was for this reason that advantage was taken of some clandestine practices, in which he was concerned as secretary at war, with regard to the forage contract in Scotland. Walpole was voted guilty of corruption, imprisoned in the Tower, and expelled the house. On being rechosen by the borough of Lynn Regis, a petition was lodged against him, and the Commons voted him incapable of being elected a member to sit in the present parliament. This severity proceeded from the rage and violence of party ; had it had a higher motive, it would have been commendable ; inquisitors into public abuses can hardly err by their rigidity ; the terror of punishment without the hope of pardon is necessary to guard the public from speculation and unnumbered frauds.

THE vengeance of the ministry did not stop with individuals; they employed their influence in the lower house to mortify the Dutch, who had entered into a variety of cabals to overturn the new administration; for this purpose the treaty concluded with the States by Lord Townshend after the conferences at Gertruydenberg, and nominated the barrier treaty, was laid before the Commons: as the States by this treaty bound themselves to maintain with their whole force the Queen's title, and the protestant succession, the ministerial party very justly affirmed, that England was disgraced in engaging other nations to interfere in internal regulations, and authorising foreign powers to interpose in British councils. Angry votes passed on several other articles of the treaty, and these were digested into a long representation, in which the Commons averred,

LETTER IV.

That England during the war had been overcharged nineteen millions; a circumstance which implied mismanagement or fraud in the late ministry:

That the States had been deficient in their stipulated quotas both by land and sea, sometimes no less than two thirds, and generally more than half:

LETTER IV. That they had not complied with an exprefs condition of the treaty, that they should prohibit all trade and commerce with France:

That the very beginning of the war in Portugal had brought an unequal share of the burthen on England :

That though the Emperor and the States-General were equal parties in the treaty with the King of Portugal, yet the Emperor neither furnishing his third part of the troops and subsidies stipulated for, nor the Dutch consenting to take an equal share of his Imperial majesty's defect on themselves, the government of England had been obliged to furnish two thirds of the entire expence created by that service :

That ever since the year seventeen hundred and six, when the English and Dutch forces marched out of Portugal into Castile, the States-General had entirely abandoned the war in Portugal, and left the Queen to prosecute it singly at her own charge, whose generous endeavors for the support and defence of the King of Portugal had been ill seconded by that prince, who, notwithstanding a subsidy paid him for the purpose, had fallen short fifteen thousand men of the stipulated quota :

That

That in Spain the war had been yet more unequal and burthensome to the Queen than in any other branch of it; that being commenced without any treaty whatsoever, the allies had almost wholly declined taking any part of it upon themselves; and although the undertaking was entered upon at the particular and earnest request of the Imperial court, and for a cause of no less importance and concern to them than the reducing the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, yet neither the late Emperors, nor his present Imperial Majesty, had ever any forces there on this account, till the last year, and then only one regiment of foot, consisting of two thousand men:

That by these means the sum of three millions seven hundred and six thousand four hundred and ninety-four pounds, the charge of this kingdom at the commencement of the war, had amounted to above eight millions yearly:

That these extraordinary exertions had been very unhappy in their event, and what was intended to shorten the war had proved the very cause of its long continuance, for those to whom the profits had accrued had not been disposed easily to forego them; the true reason why many had delighted in a war which brought in so rich a harvest yearly from Great-Britain.

IN

LETTER IV. Queen, signifying the indignation of the house against the terms offered by the French King, with a promise to assist her Majesty with their lives and fortunes in prosecuting the war with the utmost vigor.

THE minister had now a full opportunity to know the value of the Scotch Peers ; happily their obstinacy gave way to the earnestness of the court ; they were induced to resume their seats, and their weight turned again the balance in favor of the ministry.

WHILST the court were thus removing every obstacle in the way of peace, the whigs were amusing themselves with a variety of projects to re-establish their power and consequence. In a cabal, composed of Prince Eugene of Savoy, the Duke of Marlborough, Baron Bothmar, and other leaders of the party, it was proposed to raise the mob, seize the Queen's person, and, with the assistance of the Dutch, produce another revolution in favor of the Elector of Hanover : all these proposals were the mere effusion of disappointed ambition, and very harmless in their consequences ; for no two of the conspirators, if they deserve that appellation, could agree on either the manner or the means to avenge the whig cause ; however, these imprudent conversations effectually served the minister, who, having obtained certain information

formation of the matter and subject of the debates, the Duke of Marlborough was frightened out of the kingdom, and a proposition for the support of the war in Spain made by Prince Eugene, in the name of his Imperial majesty, who offered to make up his troops in that kingdom to thirty thousand men, was treated with such contempt by the house of Commons, that the Prince in disgust left the kingdom; and thus the Queen was delivered from the terrors which the intrigues, the popularity, and reputed prowess, of these military commanders had occasioned her. LETTER IV.

It was not from the whigs only that the treasurer met with opposition which often threatened the disconcerting all his plans: several zealous members of the tory party were highly disgusted with the management of the court, on suffering individuals to escape punishment who had been stigmatised by the Commons as guilty of capital crimes: they formed themselves into a junto, which went under the appellation of the tory club, and brought in a bill into the house of Commons, appointing commissioners to examine into the value of all lands, and other interests granted by the crown since the year 1688, and upon what considerations such grants had been made.

LETTER IV. THE united country interest, says Swift, was extremely set upon passing this bill; they had conceived an opinion from former precedents that the court would certainly oppose all steps towards a resumption of grants; and those who were apprehensive that the treasurer inclined the same way, proposed the bill should be tacked to another for raising a fund by duties upon soap and paper. The redress of abuses seldom square with the interest of a minister: the treasurer, alarmed at a measure which might give some delay to the supplies, and endanger the good correspondence which subsisted between both houses, by the means of intreaties, and of promises that himself and the Queen's servants would use their utmost credit to help forward the bill, if sent up singly, he prevailed with the leaders of the party to drop the measure of a tack, the bill was sent up singly, and, for very obvious reasons of interest, was rejected by the Lords.

DURING these domestic transactions, the conferences for restoring peace at Utrecht were opened on the eighteenth of January, seventeen hundred and twelve.

THE States, who were in hopes that parties in England would take some turn in their favor, either by the Queen's death, who was represented to be in a bad state of health, or by the successful cabals of their friends the whigs, or by the vigorous

LETTER IV.
vigorous and successful measures of the ensuing campaign, still refused to come into the Queen's terms: the unexpected death also of all the King of France's children and grandchildren, except one male infant, for a time suspended the conclusion of a treaty, which, for different reasons, was fought with equal eagerness by the courts of France and England: but as every obstacle to the carrying any favorite point in view always produces an equal degree of ardor in the pursuit, this seeming difficulty was easily surmounted; a courier was immediately sent to France to demand, as a necessary previous step to a separate treaty, that a proper security should be given that the kingdoms of France and Spain should never become united under one head: a renunciation was sent by Philip, and registered in the different parliaments of France; a measure which was never intended for other purpose than to amuse the people of England; for the Marquis de Torcy frankly owned that Philip's renunciation was necessarily void, as being contrary to the fundamental laws and constitutions of the French monarchy.

WHILST the English ministry were thus taking every necessary measure to secure the peace, their opponents, the whigs, were no less vigilant in their endeavors to frustrate a measure principally intended to establish the power of their enemies, and, as many supposed, to pave the way for the

LETTER IV. restoration of the exiled family to the throne of Great-Britain.

THE Queen, in her speech to the parliament on the sixth of June 1712, assured the two houses,

That in her intended treaty with France she had secured the protestant succession, and that the Pretender would be removed from the French dominions:

That it was determined that the Duke of Anjou should renounce for himself and his descendants all claim to the crown of France, so that the two monarchies would be forever divided:

She informed them, that a treaty of commerce between England and France had been begun, though not yet adjusted; but provision was made that England should enjoy the same privileges that France granted to the most favored nations:

That the French King had agreed to make an absolute cession of the island of St. Christopher's, which had hitherto been divided between the two nations:

That

That he had also consented to restore the whole bay and LETTER IV.
streights of Hudson; to deliver the island of Newfoundland,
with Placentia; to cede Anapolis, with the rest of Arcadia,
or Nova Scotia; to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk;
to leave England in possession of Gibraltar, Port Mahon, and
the whole island of Minorca, that the trade to Spain and the
West-Indies might be settled as it was in the reign of his late
catholic majesty: and

That she had obtained for her subjects the assiento, or con-
tract, for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes
for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as it had
been enjoyed by the French:

In respect to the allies, France had offered to make the
Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield Brisac, Fort Kehl,
and Landau, and raze all the fortresses both on the other side
of the Rhine and in the islands of that river:

That the protestant interest in Germany would be re-settled
on the footing of the treaty of Westphalia:

That the Spanish Netherlands, the kingdoms of Naples
and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging
to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, might be yielded to his
Imperial

LETTER IV. Imperial Majesty, but the disposition of Sicily was not yet determined :

That the demands of the States-General, with relation to commerce, and the Low Countries, would be granted with a few exceptions, which might be compensated by other expedients :

That no great progress had yet been made on the pretensions of Portugal, but that those of Prussia would be admitted by France :

That the difference between the barrier demanded by the Duke of Savoy in the year seventeen hundred and nine, and that which France now offered, was very inconsiderable :

That the Elector Palatine was to maintain his present rank among the Electors : and

That France would acknowledge the electoral dignity in the house of Hanover.

In the house of Commons, who were entirely at the devotion of the minister, an address of thanks was voted, without one dissenting voice. The Lords adjourned the business
to

to the next day, and then fell into a warm debate, in which each party exerted their utmost powers to attack and vindicate the proposed terms of peace. The Duke of Marlborough asserted, that the measures pursued for a year past were directly contrary to her Majesty's engagements with the allies; that they sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign, and would render the English name odious to all nations: and the Earl of Godolphin affirmed, that the trade to Spain was such a trifle that it deserved no consideration, and that it would continually diminish until it was entirely engrossed by the French merchants. The grand confederacy, said others who argued on the same side of the question, was intended to depress the exorbitant power of France by the accession of a prince of the house of Bourbon to the throne of Spain; but by the present treaty, that power is left in the same state as when hostilities commenced: the renunciation offered by Philip is rather a ridicule than any serious proposal; the promises and oaths of princes are but weak obstacles in the way of their ambition; France herself has been so just as to own, that any agreement of a prince to break the succession of a crown is nugatory, as being contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom; should King Philip think himself bound by his own renunciation, neither his posterity nor the French nation will allow, that he has a power to extend the obligation beyond his own life; and however insignificant
the

LETTER IV.

LETTER IV. the rights of monarchy may appear to the people of Great-Britain, who have broken the line of succession in their own country, the matter is regarded with another eye in France, where the descent of the crown is deemed the first link of that great chain which keeps together the vast body of this monarchy.

IN return to these objections, the courtiers very justly observed, that since the commencement of the war the face of things was totally changed; that France, broken by a series of uncommon misfortunes, had ceased to be dangerous; that in the present state of affairs fresh expedients and measures were not only proper, but even necessary; that when the war began, King Charles the Third was only a titular monarch, without a revenue, without power, and without importance; that the case was now much altered, as that prince had obtained the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, together with the Imperial crown; that it would be the height of folly to revive in the person of the present Emperor the power which endangered Europe in the days of Charles the Fifth; that should the confederates resolve at any rate to place the crown of Spain on the head of the Emperor, the success would at best be doubtful; that it would be extremely idle and highly impolitic to throw away blood and treasure on an undertaking which, by being accomplished,

complished, would destroy that very balance for which the maritime powers had so long contended with the house of Bourbon; that as to Philip's renunciation, though a slender thing in itself, it derived great force from the efforts of those who were to enjoy its benefits; that, as matters were situated, the best means had been used to answer the end for which the war was begun; that there was at present but a bare possibility that the succession of France should fall to the share of the King of Spain; but that there was a certainty of present danger from the union of the Spanish monarchy to the power of the house of Austria, strengthened by the influence derived by that family from an uninterrupted possession of the Imperial crown.

LETTER IV.

IT was in this manner, my friend, that the ministry combated the attacks of their adversaries; their endeavors met with success: but I believe you are too well acquainted with the temper of the British parliament, for this century past, to suppose it was conviction, and not party and interest, which biased their judgment. As the opposition in the house of Lords found it was impossible to prevent an address, similar to that which had been sent up by the Commons, they endeavored to clog it with an amendment, and proposed an addition to the motion for obtaining the guarantee of the allies to the treaty; but upon a division it was rejected by a great

LETTER IV. majority: and to carry the triumphs of the ministry yet farther, a protest, entered by several Lords upon the question, was, after a warm debate, expunged out of the books of the house.

THE tory party further manifested their strength this session in repealing the act of naturalization, which, as it brought a great number of foreign protestants into the kingdom, was generally reprobated by the whole body as an accession of strength to the dissenting interest. A bill passed both houses, with little opposition, for granting a toleration to all such as should use the liturgy of the English church in Scotland, with a clause which required the civil magistrate to execute none of the sentences of the judicatory of the church of Scotland: by another act, the courts of judicature were commanded to discontinue their sitting during some days at Christmas: and by a third, patronages, which had been abolished by King William, were restored.

THE Scotch clergy were vehement in their complaints and petitions on these subjects, and with some justice complained, that such an invasion on the church of Scotland was no small breach of the union between both kingdoms.

WHILST

WHILST the whigs were thus making weak, but repeated efforts, to disappoint the intentions of the court, the ministry were taking bold, yet effectual measures, to secure success. The Duke of Ormond, to whom the command of the British troops was given on the dismissal of the Duke of Marlborough, had orders not to co-operate with the allies in any military manœuvre of importance, lest that a battle, either gained or lost, should, by raising the power of one side or the other, give a check to the execution of the plan of pacification settled between the courts of England and France. LETTER IV.

THIS conduct of the Queen had occasioned the French to take the field with confidence and gaiety: but how great, my friend, must you imagine were the indignation and resentment of both parties, when it was found that by the intrigues of the Duke of Marlborough the foreign troops in British pay refused to obey the orders of their general.

THE principal terms of the cessation which had been agreed on between the King of France and the Queen of Great-Britain, were, the delivery of Dunkirk, and the immediate confirmation of the renunciation made by King Philip of his eventual succession to the crown of France; but, to the great mortification of the ministry, Lewis absolutely refused to send directions for admitting the British troops

LETTER IV. into Dunkirk, till all the troops in the pay of England should quit the confederates.

THE rage of resentment strengthened the resolution of the Queen: Secretary St. John, by the express orders of his mistress, wrote to the Marquis de Torcy, that the Queen was resolved to unite herself effectually to France; that, to shew the firmness of her mind and sincerity of her intentions, she had commanded him to signify to the ministers from those princes whose troops were in the British pay, that should they persist to separate themselves from her native troops, they should expect no more of her money; and that positive orders were in the mean time sent to the Duke of Ormond to separate the British forces from allies that neither deserved nor should receive her support.

THE court of France was too well convinced of the sincere intentions of the Queen and her ministry to stand long on ceremonies. On the twelfth of July, Brigadier Hill took possession of Dunkirk. The Duke of Ormond, implicitly following the orders he had received, detached himself from the allied army, and directing his route to Avesne le Secq, declared at that place a suspension of arms; though denied by the confederates a passage through Bouchain, Douay, Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lisle, he found means to take possession

possession of Ghent, and, by commanding the navigation of the Lys and Scheld, became the umpire of the operations between the contending armies. LETTER IV.

AFTER the separation of the British troops, the Marechal de Villars ventured to attack the allied army: Prince Eugene, deceived by a feint, divided his forces in order to strengthen the Earl of Albemarle at Denain; but scarce had he quitted his lines when they were entered, almost without resistance, by the Count de Broglie: the German auxiliaries who occupied the camp threw down their arms and fled; and the French army, flushed with this unusual success, passed the Scheld, and were led by Villars against the camp of the Earl of Albemarle. The fortune of war had now changed hand; Albemarle's intrenchments were forced, one thousand of his men were slain in the engagement and flight, fifteen hundred were drowned in the Scheld, two thousand five hundred fell into the hands of the victors, and amongst the slain and the prisoners were many officers of great distinction.

No action of considerable importance happened either in Italy, Spain, Dauphine, Savoy, or on the Rhine; and the confederates, thoroughly mortified by their disgrace, began to think seriously of accepting the terms of the plan of pacification which they had repeatedly rejected with scorn.

THE

LETTER IV. THE Dutch, who in the zenith of their power had treated Lewis with a haughtiness which can hardly be justified but on the principles of a due resentment for his former conduct, were the first who solicited for the renewal of the conferences at Utrecht; they were the first who signed the articles of the general treaty; their example was successively followed by the Duke of Savoy and the King of Portugal; and the Emperor, finding himself incapable of singly supporting any military operations, agreed to the evacuation of Barcelona, and thus indirectly owned the title of Philip the Fifth.

It was on the last day of March, 1713, that the peace of Utrecht, so long in agitation, was signed by all the belligerent powers, except the Emperor: it was highly approved by the parliament of England; but the whigs found in the treaty of commerce very plausible grounds for opposing the court: it was affirmed by the party, that a trade with France would prove very prejudicial to the English woollen, silk, and paper manufactories, and, above all, to the commerce with Portugal, which brought annually much bullion into the kingdom. The friends of the minister endeavored to prove, that a great advantage would result to the nation from a free commerce with France, and deduced their arguments from an enumeration of the vast quantities of British commodities exported to France before the last two wars.

THOUGH

THOUGH there cannot be a truer political maxim than that LETTER IV.
a free commerce is the only source of opulence to a state,
and that every tax laid upon trade is a very pernicious and a
very heavy burthen on society, yet the prejudices of the tra-
ding part of the nation, the spirit of party, and some dis-
gusts which the treasurer had given to the jacobite faction,
occasioned a bill on the subject of the treaty of commerce
to be rejected by nine voices; but this was the only point
that the whigs had been able to carry through a long and in-
veterate contest.

THE Duke of Marlborough, conscious that his intrigues
had laid him open to the power of his enemies, retired to
the continent, leaving in his fate a lively instance of the in-
stability of any power which takes its rise from the favor of
princes: though supported by an exorbitant wealth, on the
withdrawing of the Queen's friendship, and the depriving
him of his offices, his numerous party suddenly dropped off,
he dwindled into the littleness of becoming the member of a
faction, and, according to Dean Swift, was found unable to
bear this mortifying reverse of fortune, giving way to the in-
jurious passions of rage, impatience, envy, and discontent.

GOOD and ill fortune, my friend, is often too equally the
fate of the wise and the foolish; but it is the wise only who
can

LETTER IV. can improve favorable circumstances to the ultimate point of success. The conclusion of the peace, and the approbation of the two houses of parliament, which promised fair to establish the power of the ministry, to secure the tory interest, and to give some chance for the re-establishment of the elder branch of the Stewart family to the throne of their ancestors, was so far from producing any one of these effects, that it accelerated the triumph of the whigs, and the almost entire exclusion of the tories from the departments of government. The Earl of Oxford, who is represented by his rival secretary St. John to be a man of mean parts, of an irresolute temper, and a trimming disposition, had offended all parties by the endeavors he had used to keep in with them all: to the jacobites he had held out the hopes of the restoration of their idol; to the tories, that he would take the proper means for the establishing their power on a permanent basis; and to the whigs, that his conduct was solely directed by the principle of securing the succession to the house of Hanover.

THESE artifices for some time had produced their desired effect, i. e. of gaining a large body of men to support the power of the treasurer; but as all narrow schemes, sooner or later, prove abortive in their end, each faction, as they found their hopes repeatedly disappointed by the conduct of administration, from entertaining doubts, began to be clearly convinced

convinced of the duplicity of the Earl of Oxford's behavior. LETTER IV.

The conclusion of the peace was equally desired by the tories and jacobites, as a necessary prelude to the accomplishment of their views; and it was on this reason that they smothered their resentment till that wished-for event had taken its full place.

“ LONG before the purport of the treaties could be
“ known,” says Bolingbroke, “ those whigs who had set
“ out with us in 1710, began to relapse back to their party:
“ they had amongst us shared the harvest of a new ministry,
“ and, like prudent persons, they took measures in time to
“ have their share in that of a new government. The
“ whimsical, or the Hanover tories, continued zealous in
“ appearance with us till the peace was signed; I saw no
“ people so eager for the conclusion of it; some of them
“ were in such haste, that they thought any peace preferable
“ to the least delay, and omitted no instances to quicken
“ their friends who were actors in it. As soon as the trea-
“ ties were perfected, and laid before the parliament, the
“ scheme of these gentlemen began to disclose itself entirely;
“ the love of the peace, like their passions, cooled by en-
“ joyment; they grew nice about the construction of the
“ articles; could come up to no direct approbation; and
“ being let into the secret of what was to happen, would not

LETTER IV. " preclude themselves from the glorious advantage of rising
 " on the ruins of their friends, and of their party.

" THE danger of the succession, and the badness of the
 " peace, were the two principles on which we were at-
 " tacked; on the first, the whimsical tories joined the whigs,
 " and declared directly against their party, although nothing
 " is more certain than that there was at that time no formed
 " design in the party, whatever particular views some parti-
 " cular men might have against his Majesty's accession to the
 " throne."

THESE divisions amongst the friends to the peace were greatly increased, if they did not owe their rise to the unruly ambition of the Earl of Oxford and the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke; the latter of these noblemen had long felt, with an impatient disdain, the mortification of acting under a minister whose abilities he regarded as infinitely inferior to his own; and the jealousy of Oxford, which incited him to treat his rival with great neglect, and often to disappoint him in matters of pecuniary interest, increased the resentment of St. John to a height which at length overcame all those considerations of prudence and mutual safety, which had hitherto directed his conduct. Mrs. Masham, by whose interest with the Queen the Earl of Oxford held so high a place in her confidence, was now at enmity with the minister,

ster, on being likewise thwarted in the line of interest; and the Queen, who could never see with any other eyes but with those of her favorites, now began to observe the duplicity of Harley's character. LETTER IV.

ON very good grounds it is believed that Queen Anne always entertained an inclination, and, towards the end of her life, a real design to set her brother on the throne. Dalrymple and Macpherson assert, on the evidence of manuscripts said to be found in the Jesuits college at Paris, that this Princess actually made a kind of promise to her father to resign, if opportunity offered, the crown in his favor. The love of power, which is almost equally prevalent in every character, prevented her from realising the assurances she had given on this head; and whilst her children lived she continued a steady friend to the Revolution. The politics of Anne, my friend, changed with her situation; when deprived of the hopes of a succession in the heirs of her own body, she became very solicitous for its establishment in the hereditary line, and, but for the fear of the loss of power in her own person, would undoubtedly have taken vigorous measures for the accomplishment of her wishes. In a correspondence which she held with her brother, after the death of James, she advises, as a necessary prelude to his restoration, that he would conform to the worship of the church: the

LETTER IV. answer which this Prince made her, my friend, carries with it such an appearance of candor, and contains so sensible an observation, that I cannot forbear relating it to you: after affirming that he has so little prejudice against the religion of his country that he intended to carry along with him to the place of his exile a protestant clergyman to officiate to his protestant servants, and that when he should be permitted to return to Great-Britain he would be ready to hear such arguments as might induce him to change his faith, he observed, that it was even the interest of the people to have such a Prince on the throne, whose religion would lessen the power which the constitution had placed in his hands; declared that he was ready to relinquish, during his own time, the prerogative of nominating bishops and appointing clergymen to livings; and from this inferred, that no danger could be apprehended by the established church.

RATIONAL reflections, by the events which follow, often carry with them the air of prophecy; and I may venture to pronounce that confidence on the religious principles of those princes who immediately succeeded Anne, and perhaps a very vain terror of popery, have been the leading causes which have gained that unlimited influence in the crown, which has broken down and destroyed every constitutional barrier to the uncontrouled will of the sovereign.

HARRASSED

HARRASSED with frequent illnesses, and sensible of the decay of her constitution, the Queen, at the latter end of her life, began to form real designs of securing the succession to her brother. The Earl of Oxford, from timidity or principle, entered very coldly into the Queen's views, and, it is thought, betrayed her counsels to the whigs; but Bolingbroke, turning her prejudices to his own advantage, encouraged her with the most flattering hopes of success. The forwardness of Oxford, who, from the most condescending complacency was grown turbulent, and very remiss in the execution of the plans concerted in the cabinet, at length determined this timid Princess to break entirely with the treasurer. On the twenty-seventh of July, 1714, after a very acrimonious dialogue had passed between Mrs. Masham and the Earl, he was deprived of his staff; but as this was a sudden act, and no plan was established for supplying the vacancy occasioned by his disgrace, confusion and disorder ensued at court: the fatigue of attending a long cabinet council on the event, with the altercation which passed between the ministers at the board, affected the Queen's spirits and constitution to such a degree, that she declared she could not outlive it, and was immediately seized with a lethargic disorder; by the recommendation of her privy council, in a transient interval of her lethargy, she delivered the treasurer's staff to the Duke
of

LETTER IV. of Shrewsbury, and died at Kensington on Sunday the first of August.

IN a history, my friend, which touches so near to the present times, it is not safe for an historian to draw a very just and accurate description of the principal persons who figured on the stage of life; but as you are fond of my characters, I will for once depart from the rule I have set myself in writing this part of our annals, and give you as just a notion as I can of the capital lines which form the character of Anne.

THE medium of party, which either distorts or lessens objects according to the prejudices of the observer, represents this Princess as adorned with every quality which form the excellence of a christian character; and, on the other side, as a weak, superstitious bigot, divested of those principles of common reason and intellect which are absolutely necessary to give existence to any virtue either of the head or the heart.

OF all the Princesses of the Stewart line, perhaps there were none whose intentions were better towards promoting the good of the society she governed, than Queen Anne; but her natural capacity was narrow, and her education illiberal: far from being able to comprehend the art of government,
and

and the political happiness of society, sciences understood by LETTER IV.
very few, her natural capacity was not sufficient to direct
with success and with respect the œconomy of a private
family: a bigot to the forms of religion, a slave to her fa-
vorites, and a victim to her timidity, she was the foot-ball
of all who had an opportunity of taking advantage of her
weaknesses, for the promoting their private views. The vices
of her reign were the vices of those by whom she was go-
verned; and the virtues of her heart only rendered her a more
easy dupe to the sinister schemes of her counsellors. In short,
my friend, she was a glaring example to shew the ticklish
state in which society is involved, whose welfare depends on
the conduct of an individual; since a high share of virtue and
understanding, those choicest gifts of heaven, are dispensed
by the Creator with so sparing a hand, that we find a very
few individuals in any age whom we can in this respect mark
as the favorites of heaven.

L E T T E R V.

LETTER V.

WHATEVER, my friend, might have been the secret inclinations of the Queen, or whatever important consequences in favor of the hereditary line the daring conduct and ambitious spirit of St. John might have produced, the sudden death of the Sovereign put a final period to the fears of the whigs and the hopes of the jacobites.

GEORGE the First, Elector of Hanover, agreeable to the dictates of an act of parliament passed in King William's time, the very day of the Queen's decease was proclaimed King in the usual forms, and the submission of the three kingdoms was as universal, as if there had not existed any other pretended title to the throne.

THOUGH

THOUGH supported in his pretensions by the political principles of the whigs, and only assisted by the power of this faction, yet the policy of William ran quite counter to the ambitious and even the honest views of the party: this crafty statesman found too great an advantage in the division of factions, and the balance of power, than to fling the whole weight of prerogative in the scale of either; but the princes of the Brunswick line were early taught to regard the whigs as interested in their succession by the double ties of ambition and policy, and the tories and the jacobites, for the same substantial reasons, as their inveterate enemies. LETTER V.

To read, my friend, over the professions of the leaders of the whig faction, and to examine the principles on which they pretended to found their ideas of government, you would imagine that the empire of whiggism and the empire of freedom were synonymous terms; you would impatiently wait for that happy period, when the whigs, seated in the heart of their Sovereign, governing his counsels, and intrusted with the administration of his government, were to dispense law and justice throughout the kingdom; to correct the errors of former administrations; and to place the constitutional forms on a basis, sufficiently broad and solid as to secure the permanent existence of that freedom which they pretended to admire.

LETTER V. IT is an observation too well grounded on the experience of all times, “ that human nature, deprived of that education and that train of fortunate circumstances which give birth to virtue, and support its stability, and when tempted with equal opportunities to gratify inordinate inclinations, is the same corrupt and inconsistent being, in all ages, in all countries, and through every period of revolving time.” Every page of the history of Great-Britain, my friend, exemplifies this melancholy truth; and the full demonstration which matter of fact affords, renders all farther comment on the subject superfluous and unnecessary.

It was not till the sixteenth day of September, six weeks after the Queen's decease, that the impatient expectations of the people were gratified with the presence of their new Sovereign. The fears and hopes of both parties ran high; but his Majesty soon relieved them from this state of anxiety, by an instantaneous and total change in all offices of trust and advantage: the Duke of Ormond was dismissed from his command, and the Duke of Marlborough restored to his former power, with the addition of an appointment of colonel of the first regiment of foot guards, and master of the ordnance; the Earl of Nottingham was declared president of the council; the great seal was given to Lord Cowper, the privy seal to the Earl of Wharton, and the government of Ireland

Ireland to the Earl of Sunderland; the Duke of Devonshire was made steward of the household; Lord Townshend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed secretaries of state; the post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed on the Duke of Montrose; the Duke of Somerset was constituted master of the horse; the Duke of St. Albans, captain of the band of pensioners; and the Duke of Argyle, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland; Mr. Pulteney was made secretary at war; and Mr. Walpole, who had undertaken to manage the house of Commons, was gratified with the double place of paymaster to the army and Chelsea hospital. LETTER V.

THE sudden and unexpected turn of affairs threw the tories into that state of inactivity, which the tumult of a variety of passions agitating the mind at the same time commonly occasions. It was undoubtedly the interest of the jacobites and tories to unite their strength against the common enemy; “but,” says Lord Bolingbroke, in his letter to Sir William Windham, “they acted like men given over to their passions, and unguided by any other principle, not like men fired by a just resentment, and a reasonable ambition to a bold undertaking; they treated the government like men who were resolved not to live under it, and yet they took no one measure to support themselves against it; they expressed, without reserve or circumspection, an eagerness to

N n 2

“join

LETTER V. “ join in any attempt against the establishment which they
 “ had received and confirmed, and which many of them had
 “ courted but a few weeks before; and yet, in the midst of
 “ all this bravery, when the election of the new parliament
 “ came on, some of these men acted with the coolness of
 “ those who are much better disposed to compound than to
 “ take arms.”

THE want of concert in their adversaries, with the advantage of the treasury, occasioned a great majority of the elections to go in favor of the whigs; but instead of attacking their enemies on the servile and unconstitutional doctrine they had encouraged, on the prostituting the prerogative of the crown in the great point of conferring honors, dignity, and office, to the base and ignoble purpose of carrying a court measure contrary to the independent sense of the house, the peace, which, though not entirely satisfactory, was perhaps as favorable a one as the intrigues of the whigs would admit, was the only ground on which the whigs chose to erect their batteries: the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Strafford, and the Lord Viscount St. John, were impeached for the different parts they had acted in this transaction; the Duke of Ormond and the Lord Viscount St. John fled the kingdom; but though the Earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, and several others, were excepted
 out

out of the act of grace, yet, as ministers are always cautious LETTER V. in the settling precedents of punishment for misdemeanors in office, they all escaped with impunity.

NOTWITHSTANDING this mildness, this timidity, or rather this interested caution in the government, the common people, who had been encouraged in licentiousness by the late ministry, and who were now instigated by the malecontents of the jacobite and tory factions, broke out into acts of sedition and riot; from London the infection spread to the adjacent, and from thence to the distant counties; tumults were raised in Staffordshire, and in several other parts of the kingdom. The Commons presented an address to the King, desiring that the laws might be vigorously executed against the rioters: the habeas corpus act, that great bulwark of English liberty, was suspended, and a new and unconstitutional restraint was laid on the freedom of the subject by an act, decreeing, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of peace or other officer, and had heard the proclamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy.

THE

LETTER V.

THE prevailing discontents in England were soon communicated to the Scots; a large party among this people had never been entirely satisfied with the union, though its articles were evidently in favor of their nation. The English jacobites did not fail to encourage this aversion; a correspondence was set on foot between the malecontents of each nation; and the Chevalier de St. George was flattered with the hopes that the great majority of the two nations were ready to take up arms in his favor.

THE sudden death of Lewis the Twelfth of France, which happened on the first day of September, 1715, was no small interruption to the rising hopes of this Prince: Lewis had supplied him privately with sums of money to prepare a small armament in the port of Havre, which was equipped in the name of Depine d'Anicaut: but the Duke of Orleans, on whom the regency of the kingdom devolved, adopted a new system of politics, entered into strict engagements with the King of Great-Britain, and, instead of assisting the Pretender, betrayed his counsels, and amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition.

THE death of Lewis the Fourteenth struck a general damp on the whole party; yet the partizans of the Pretender had
gone

gone too far to retreat: the Earl of Mar, assembling three hundred of his own vassals, proclaimed the Chevalier at Castle-Town, and on the sixth day of September set up his standard at Bræ Mar; then assuming the title of Lieutenant-General of the newly-proclaimed Sovereign's forces, he published a declaration, exhorting the people to take up arms for their lawful Prince, which was followed by a manifesto, explaining the national grievances, and assuring the nation of redress. LETTER V.

IN the midst of these alarms, the government of England was not idle: the Earls of Home, Wigtown, and Kinnoul, the Lord Deskford, and Lockart of Carnwath, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the government, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh; Major-general Wetham marched with the regular troops stationed in Scotland to secure the bridge of Stirling; the Duke of Argyle was sent in the character of commander in chief of the forces in North-Britain; the Earl of Sutherland set sail in the Queensborough man of war for the North, where he proposed to raise his vassals for the service of government; and several other Scotch returned on the same errand to their country.

LETTER V. IN England, Lieutenant-colonel Paul was imprisoned in the Gatehouse for enlisting men in the service of the Pretender; the titular Duke of Powis was committed to the Tower; the Lords Lansdown and Duplin were taken into custody; a warrant was issued for apprehending the Earl of Jerfey; and the Commons gave the King their assent to seize and detain the following members: Sir William Windham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey of Coombe, Mr. Thomas Foster, Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston. Harvey and Anstis were immediately secured; Foster, with the assistance of some popish Lords, assembled a body of men in Northumberland; Sir John Packington was examined before the council, and dismissed for want of evidence; Kynaston absconded; Sir William Wyndham was seized at his house in Somersetshire, but found means to escape; he afterwards surrendered himself, and was committed to the Tower.

IN the western counties, the friends of the elder branch of the house of Stewart, forming a design to surprize Bristol, had concealed arms and artillery at Bath: these preparations were discovered by the emissaries of the government, and every person of consequence who was suspected of attachment to the cause was apprehended.

IN

IN the North, the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster LETTER V.
took the field with a body of horse; they were joined by
some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, and this party
proclaimed the Pretender in Warkworth, Morpeth, and
Alnwick.

DISAPPOINTED in the design of seizing the town of New-
castle, the insurgents retired to Hexham, and from thence
northward to Wooler, where they were joined by two hun-
dred Scottish horse, under the Lord Viscount Kenmuir, and
the Earls of Cornwarth and Wintoun, who had set up the
Pretender's standard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in diffe-
rent parts of Scotland. At Kelso the insurgents were joined
by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of
Highlanders. The party now thought themselves strong
enough to enter on action at Brampton: Foster opened his
commission of general, which had been sent to him by the
Earl of Mar, and proclaimed the Pretender, and continued
his march to Penrith. Twelve thousand of the posse co-
mitatus of Cumberland, which had been assembled by the
Bishop of Carlisle, dispersed with the utmost precipitation
on the approach of this small army, which, proceeding from
Penrith by the way of Kendal and Lancaster, took possession
of the town of Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of
dragoons and another of militia had retired.

LETTER V. IT was not long that the rebels enjoyed this sunshine of fortune. General Wills, with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot-commanded by Colonel Preston, advanced to the bridge of Ribble before Foster received intelligence of their approach. The King's troops met with a warm reception; but the next day, being reinforced with three regiments of dragoons, commanded by General Carpenter, they invested the town on all sides.

A CAPITULATION was proposed, but the general refusing to treat with rebels, the party surrendered at discretion. All the noblemen and leaders were secured: Major Nairne, Captain Lockart, Captain Shaftoe, and Ensign Erskyn, were tried by a court martial as deserters, and executed; Lord Charles Murray, son of the Duke of Athole, was condemned for the same crime, but reprieved; the common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool; the noblemen and officers of distinction were sent to London, conveyed through the streets pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and Newgate.

THIS victory enabled the government to send a strong reinforcement to Scotland, which was rendered yet more powerful by six thousand men, which were claimed of the States-General

General by virtue of the treaties subsisting between their Letter V.
High Mightinesses and the government of England.

IN this desperate state of his affairs the Chevalier, who had embarked in a small vessel at Dunkirk hired for the purpose, arrived among his friends and adherents in Scotland: he was proclaimed at Fetterross by the Earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality: his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and circulated through all the adjacent counties; he received addresses from the episcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the diocese of Aberdeen; made his public entry into Dundee, and on the seventh of January arrived at Scoon: the twenty-third of the month was fixed for his coronation; a regular council was formed; proclamations were published for a general thanksgiving on account of his safe arrival; the ministers were enjoined to pray for him in their several churches; the currency of foreign coins was established; a convention of estates was summoned; and all sensible men were ordered to repair to his standard.

THIS, my friend, was a short and transient dream of royal grandeur and importance. The Duke of Ormond made a fruitless voyage to the western coast to try the disposition of the people, and by the reception he met with was fully con-

LETTER V. vinced of the vanity of those expectations which the party had formed of seeing the major part of the kingdom rise in arms to effect another revolution.

THE jacobites in Scotland, finding themselves destitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage, and provision, and hemmed in on all sides by the several detachments of the King's troops, in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of the party assisted, and in which the Chevalier delivered a pathetic speech, determined to abandon the hopeless enterprize. Thus deserted, and hotly pursued by the Duke of Argyle, the unfortunate adventurer, embarking on board of a small French ship which lay in the harbour of Montrose, made the best of his way out of the reach of the enemy: he was accompanied in his flight by the Earls of Mar and Melfort, the Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-general Bulkeley, and other persons of distinction, to the number of seventeen.

THUS abruptly, my friend, finished an enterprize, uncorrectly executed, and injudiciously formed: but what better could be expected from weak councils, from treacherous friends, and from disjointed factions? who, acting solely from the motives of resentment and disappointed ambition, totally void of those steady and sound principles on which
human

human nature can alone be elevated above the consequences LETTER V.
which must ever attend unsuccessful heroism.

ON the meeting of the parliament impeachments were sent from the Commons against the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Cornwarth, and Wintoun, the Lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn; a bill was ordered to be brought in to continue the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and another to attain the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and Lord John Drummond. All the impeached Lords, except the Earl of Wintoun, pleaded guilty to the articles exhibited against them, and received sentence of death: Wintoun was brought to his trial, and convicted, and shared the same fate.

IN the beginning of April, 1716, a commission for trying the rebels met in the court of common pleas, when bills of high treason were found against Foster, Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates: a considerable number of the party were tried at Liverpool, and found guilty; two and twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester; and a thousand prisoners, submitting to the King's mercy, petitioned for transportation.

THE calamities which this unsuccessful rebellion brought on private families, my friend, though a melancholy consideration,

LETTER V. deration, will appear trifling when compared to the irreparable injury the constitution suffered on the occasion. Unsuccessful rebellions always either increase or produce tyranny: the generality of mankind, governed by the pretended exigencies of the present moment, never regard consequences, though big with mischiefs more dreadful than any of those which their injudicious caution endeavors to avoid.

THE flight of the Pretender, the sudden extinction of the rebellion in Scotland, and the general submission of the people in England, rendered it totally useless to lay even a temporary restraint on any even of the lesser privileges of the subject; but the present opportunity of diminishing that small portion of democracy, which on more than one occasion had curbed the incroachments of royalty, and preserved the freedom of the constitution, was too favorable to be lost.

ON the tenth day of April, 1716, the Duke of Devonshire proposed in the house of Lords a bill for enlarging the continuance of parliament, and was seconded by the Earls of Dorset and Rockingham, the Duke of Argyle, the Lord Townshend, and all the chiefs of the whig faction. It was opposed by the Earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and Powlet: but, important as was the subject of the bill, weighty as were the arguments, and obvious as were the reasons urged
against

against its necessity, expedience, or use, and also on the manifest evils which must attend it, the arguments served only to form a short debate, and the bill passed by a large majority, twelve Peers only entering their protest against it: it met with the same success in the lower house; and thus the constitution, from its mistaken or pretended friends, received a more fatal injury than it had ever received by all the incroachments of power from the fatal period of the Conquest to the present times. LETTER V.

It is very rare indeed, my friend, that the views, the inclinations, or the purposes of the court coincide with the privileges of the subject; but a fortunate occasion now offered itself to lessen, in some small degree, the damage the constitution had received by the septennial act.

THE King, and his eldest son the heir apparent to the crown, had been at variance some time, and matters had ran so high between them as to create a desire in the father to lay some restraint on the future power of his son: with this intent a motion was made by the Duke of Somerset, and seconded by the ministry, to the following purport: that a bill should be brought in to settle and limit the peerage in such a manner that the number of English Peers should not be enlarged above six of the present number, which, upon failure
of

LETTER V. of male issue, might be supplied by new creations ; and that instead of the sixteen elective Peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom ; and that this number, upon the failure of heirs male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scotch peerage.

YOU know, my friend, that I have always regarded the prerogative of making patent Peers as one of the most noxious parts of the monarchical power in this kingdom: those allurements which promise the gratification of human vanity are from experience more irresistible in their nature than the attainment even of solid advantages; and in this case a feather is more likely to turn the balance of the mind than the weightiest considerations of interest. There are men who have acted uprightly, even in large concerns of property; but if there have been any individuals in this country who have not bartered their principles and betrayed the public, for the cap and courtesy which titles gain from the vulgar, and for the enjoyment of that enchanting stile of address which *my Lord*, and *your Lordship*, gives, I must own to you they have not yet come to my knowledge.

I CANNOT leave this subject, my friend, without bitterly lamenting the great want of discernment in the generality of mankind of the only principles which constitute real greatness

ness when mere externals strike the deluded eye, and by the deception of sense thus grossly deceive the general judgment. LETTER VI.
Can it be expected that the frailty of mankind will not lead them to set an inestimable value on what is trifling and insignificant in its nature, and in proportion neglect all those attainments which alone give dignity to the species, and which alone to mortal discernment exalt the wisdom of the Deity in the creation of man?

THE creation of the twelve Peers by Queen Anne to serve a court purpose, it might have been imagined, would have convinced the whigs of the degree of malignity which lay in this part of the prerogative; but several of this faction, from motives of vanity, opposed with violence the Duke of Somerset's salutary motion: the tories, from party prejudices, joined with equal violence in the opposition; and thus was fatally lost the opportunity of lessening a great part of that evil which has materially acted to the entire subversion of the independence of individuals, and the freedom of the constitution; and this, though his Majesty sent a message to the house to the following gracious purport: That as they had under consideration the state of the British peerage, he had so much at heart the settling it upon such a foundation as might secure the freedom and constitution of parliaments in all future ages, that

LETTER V. he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work.

THE next important event which offers itself in this reign, my friend, is the sudden rise, and the as sudden fall, of the South Sea Company. The pernicious policy introduced by William of borrowing money of the public, and settling certain taxes to pay the interest of the borrowed sum, had introduced a new kind of traffic into the kingdom, which was totally unknown to happier times. When a nation is deeply in debt, public credit is ever precarious; and the rise and fall of stocks furnish an opportunity for needy adventurers to prey on the hopes and the fears of individuals, whilst the growing necessities of the state give rise to a variety of inventions for raising the sums adequate to the exigencies of the occasion. This worst kind of gaming made a rapid progress in the kingdom; and at length the spirit of adventure, and the eager desire of becoming suddenly rich by the successful attempts of a few of the favored sons of fortune, infected all ranks and all conditions of men through the whole society.

IN the eleventh year of Queen Anne, when the debt on the navy had amounted to above five millions, the two houses passed an act for the throwing this and several other debts
into

into one stock, amounting in the whole to nine millions four hundred and seventy-one thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds, and a fund was formed for the paying an interest or an annuity of six per cent, till the principal should be paid: the yearly interest of the principal amounted to the sum of five hundred and sixty-eight thousand two hundred and seventy-nine pounds: all the duties upon wines, vinegar, tobacco, India goods, wrought silk, whale fins, &c. were perpetuated for the payment; and with this fund was granted the monopoly of a trade to the South Sea, or coast of Peru in Mexico, in South America; and the several proprietors of the navy bills, debentures, and other public securities, were incorporated into a company, called The South Sea Company.

By the frequent repetition of the same subject of debate, it would appear that the two houses of parliament had been very solicitous to reduce the national debt, even from the first period of its commencement; but, after the manner of private spendthrifts, instead of adopting the only plan which could effectually act to the attainment of this desirable purpose, viz. the reducing the interest, and cutting the sinews of corruption by a rigid plan of œconomy, they only shifted their creditors, and borrowed from one set of men to pay the money due to another.

LETTER V. IN the year seventeen hundred and seventeen, the grand question was again agitated on the means of reducing the national debt: agreeable to a motion of Mr. Robert Walpole, who at this time was risen to the office of prime minister, the house of Commons came to the following resolutions:

First, That all the public funds, redeemable by law, that do now exceed five pounds per cent per annum, be redeemed according to their respective provisos, or clauses of redemption, contained in the acts of parliament for that purpose, or, with consent of the proprietors, be converted into an interest or annuity, not exceeding five pounds per cent per annum, redeemable by parliament:

Secondly, That his Majesty be enabled to borrow of any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, such sum or sums of money as shall be requisite to redeem the same redeemable funds, at any rate not exceeding five pounds per cent per annum, and to secure the same upon the funds so to be redeemed:

Thirdly, That the annuity of one hundred and fix thousand five hundred and one pounds thirteen shillings and five pence per annum, payable to the governor and company of the bank out of the house money, by virtue of several acts
of

of parliament in that behalf, for the principal sum of one million seven hundred and seventy-five thousand and twenty-seven pounds seventeen shillings and ten pence, by them advanced, be redeemed, or by consent of the said governor and company, converted into an interest or annuity, not to exceed five pounds per cent per annum, redeemable by parliament :

LETTER V.

Fourthly, That so much of the fund, called the aggregate fund, settled by an act of parliament in the first year of the reign of his present Majesty, as is applicable to the interest, circulation, exchanging, or cancelling the present exchequer bills, be also redeemed :

Fifthly, That his Majesty be enabled to authorize the high treasurer, or the commissioners of the treasury for the time being, to treat and agree with any person or persons, politic or corporate, for the circulating such a number of exchequer bills, at a rate not exceeding four pounds ten shillings per cent per annum, for interest, exchanging, and circulation, as may be charged and secured upon that part of the said aggregate fund to be so redeemed :

Sixthly, That the annuities of six hundred thousand pounds, and eight thousand pounds per annum, payable to the gover-

nor

LETTER V. nor and company of merchants of Great-Britain trading to the South Sea, be also redeemed :

Seventhly, That the annuities payable by an act of parliament of the twelfth year of the reign of King William to certain patentees therein named, their heirs and assigns, out of the weekly sum of three thousand seven hundred pounds, charged on the excise, be also redeemed :

Eighthly, That the several terms of years remaining in the duties appropriated by the two lottery acts, made and passed in the ninth year of the reign of her late majesty Queen Anne, and by the two lottery acts made and passed in the tenth year of her said late Majesty's reign, be made perpetual :

Ninthly, That the said duties comprehended in the said four lottery acts be made one general fund for the future :

Tenthly, That the proprietors of the orders grounded on the said lottery acts do, within a limited time, make their elections, either to accept annuities after the rate of five pounds per cent per annum, redeemable by parliament out of such general fund, or be paid so much as remains due to them on their orders respectively :

Eleventhly,

Eleventhly, That in all cases where the proprietors shall LETTER V.
chuse to have their principal, the five pounds per cent per
annum saved thereby be made another fund, towards answer-
ing such sums of money as shall be advanced towards dis-
charging the said principal by loans or other securities, as
shall be thought proper :

Twelfthly, That his Majesty be enabled to give power for
receiving voluntary subscriptions from any person or persons
entitled to any of the annuities issuing out of the public funds,
for the residue of the respective terms of ninety-nine, ninety-
six, eighty-nine, or thirty-two years, formerly purchased
therein, not being subject to redemption, who shall be willing
to accept in lieu thereof perpetual annuities redeemable by
parliament, to allow for remaining terms in the said annuities,
which were purchased for ninety-nine, ninety-six, or eighty-
nine years, at the election of the respective subscribers, either
so much as the same annuities shall amount to at nine-
teen years purchase, to be made good by new annuities of
four pounds per cent per annum, redeemable by parlia-
ment, or seventeen years' and a half purchase, to be made
good by new annuities of five pounds per cent per annum,
to be redeemable in like manner, and to allow for the re-
maining terms in the said annuities, which were purchased
for thirty-two years at the election of the respective subscri-
bers,

LETTER V. bers, either so much as the same annuities shall amount to at fourteen years' and a half purchase, to be made good by new annuities of four pounds per cent per annum, redeemable by parliament, or thirteen years' and a half purchase to be made good by annuities of five pounds per cent per annum, redeemable in like manner, and that the said annuities shall be settled and secured accordingly:

Thirteenthly, That all savings that shall arise upon any of the present funds by the proposed redemptions or reductions, be reserved and applied, after all deficiencies which may happen upon any of the said funds are made good, towards discharging and reducing the debts of the national debt:

Fourteenthly, That all the said duties, now in being, or to be continued, shall immediately cease and determine after the said national debt, and all interest due thereupon, is discharged and paid off.

I HAVE been very particular in giving you the complete extract of the resolutions of the Commons on this subject, my friend, because the whole business of funding, and the art of supplying the exorbitant expences of the government, commonly called ways and means, is a business of so perplexed a nature, that it will be very difficult for me to give
you

you in any other manner an adequate idea of the situation of LETTER V.
the wasted finances of this kingdom, or the accumulated
burthens laid on by the different administrations since the in-
fernal method of borrowing and funding has taken place.

IN consequence of the fore-mentioned resolutions, conferences were held with the money corporations in order to provide money for such as should be willing to receive their principal and interest in ready money; for this purpose, the bank agreed to furnish two millions and a half, and the South Sea two millions, or as much as should be called for, and for the money advanced these companies were to have annuities of five pounds per cent. Agreeable to these proposals, three bills were brought in upon the resolutions which had been made in relation to the public debts; and they all three passed into laws, under the nomination of the bank act, the South Sea act, and the general fund act: in this last is a clause, establishing a sinking fund arising from the surplus on the appropriated funds, and the reduction of interest to five per cent; the act declaring, that all the monies arising from time to time, as well as for the surplus by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the Bank, and of the South Sea company, as also for the surplus of the duties and revenues, by this act appropriated for the discharging the principal and interest of such national debts as were incurred before

LETTER V. the twenty-fifth of December, in such manner as shall be directed or appointed by any future act of parliament, to be discharged out of the same, and for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.

IN the year 1719, on the King's recommending to the Commons to resume the consideration of proper means for lessening the national debt, a scheme was adopted to reduce all the funds into one. The bank and South Sea company bid against each other: the South Sea company offered such high terms to the government that the proposals of the bank were rejected. A bill was accordingly brought into the house, formed on the plan presented by the South Sea company; and in consequence of the Commons having rejected a motion for a clause in the bill to fix what share in the capital stock of the company should be vested in those proprietors of the annuities who might voluntarily subscribe, and how many years purchase in money they should receive in subscribing at the choice of the proprietors, the stock of the company rose from one hundred and thirty to near four hundred pounds.

THE bill now depending in favor of the South Sea company, on the following reasons, was opposed by a great majority, viz.

That

That it would countenance the fraudulent and pernicious LETTER V.
practice of stock-jobbing, which diverted the genius of the
people from trade and industry :

That it would give foreigners the opportunity to double
and treble the vast sums they had in the public funds, and
that they would be tempted to realize and withdraw their
capital and immense gains to other countries, so that Great-
Britain would be drained of its gold and silver :

That the artificial and prodigious rise of the South Sea
stock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy many un-
wary people to their ruin, alluring them by a false prospect of
gain to part with the fruits of their industry to purchase ima-
ginary riches :

That the addition of above thirty millions capital would
give such power to the South Sea company as might endanger
the liberties of the nation ; for by their extensive interest
they would be enabled to influence most, if not all, the elec-
tions of the members, and consequently overrule the resolu-
tions of the house of Commons.

NOTWITHSTANDING these, and a great many as powerful
arguments, the bill passed without amendment or division,

LETTER V. and on the seventh day of April, 1720, received the royal assent. The South Sea company were by this act authorized to take in, by purchase or subscription, the irredeemable debts of the nation, stated at sixteen millions five hundred and forty-six thousand four hundred and eighty-two pounds seven shillings and one penny farthing, at such times as they should find convenient before the first day of March of the ensuing year; and without any compulsion on any of the proprietors, at such rates and prices as should be agreed on between the company and the respective proprietors, they were authorized to take in all the redeemable debts, amounting to the same sum as that of the irredeemable, either by purchase, by taking subscriptions, or by paying off the creditors. For the liberty of taking in the national debts, and increasing their capital stock accordingly, the company consented that their present, and to be increased annuities, should be continued at five per cent till Midsummer in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, from thence to be reduced to four per cent, and to be redeemable by parliament.

In consideration of this, and other advantages expressed in the act, the company declared themselves willing to make such payments into the receipt of the exchequer as were specified for the use of the public, to be applied to the discharge of
of

of the public debts incurred before Christmas in the year LETTER V. one thousand seven hundred and sixteen: the sums they were obliged to pay, for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, four years' and a half purchase for all the long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase for such long annuities as should not be subscribed, amounted on the execution of the act to seven millions. For enabling the company to raise this sum, they were empowered to make calls of money from their members; to open books of subscription; to grant annuities redeemable by the company; to borrow money upon any contract or bill, under their common seal, or on the credit of their capital stock; to convert the money demanded of their members into additional stock, without making any addition to the company's annuities payable out of the public duties. It was enacted, that out of the first monies arising from the sums paid by the company into the Exchequer, such public debts, carrying interest at five per cent, incurred before the twenty-fifth of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, founded upon any former act of parliament, as were now redeemable, or might be redeemed before the twenty-fifth day of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two, should be first discharged; then all the remainder should be applied towards paying off so much of the capital stock of the company as should then carry an interest:

LETTER V. interest of five per cent; and it was provided, that after Midsummer in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, the company should not be paid off in any sums less than one million at a time.

IT is said, my friend, that Sir John Blount, who had been bred a scrivener, was the man who formed this South Sea scheme, which for a while threatened the destruction of public credit, and which fell so heavy on the heads of several individuals: it seems he had projected his plan on the famous Mississippi scheme, formed by Law, which in the preceding year had failed in France, and which had entailed ruin on many thousand families in that kingdom; and yet Law's scheme was much more plausible, as it contained an exclusive trade to Louisiana; whereas the South Sea scheme, by the conditions of the peace of Utrecht, was deprived of any commercial advantage.

IN the natural state of humanity, my friend, I believe two thirds of any given society may be numbered in the classes of fools and madmen; but there sometimes reigns an epidemic madness, as well as an epidemic fever of a different kind, which, from being first partial, becomes general, and then universal; and I do not know any country where these instances are so often to be met with as in England. This

was.

was the state of the case in the year seventeen hundred and twenty; and favored with this opportunity, Blount, and a few associates with very moderate talents, first imposed on the majority of the directors of the South Sea company, and then on the whole nation. LETTER V.

THE tricks of the alley, though continually repeated, impose even at this time on a large number of credulous individuals; but at the period I am now writing on, my friend, there were very few, even of the most wary, who had reason to laugh at his neighbour for becoming the dupe of shallow artifice, and the most contemptible impositions: the mere circulating a report that Gibraltar and Port Mahon would be exchanged for some places in Peru, by which means the English trade to the South Sea would be protected and enlarged, operated with such power, that in five days the directors opened their books for a subscription of one million, at the rate of three hundred pounds for one hundred pounds capital; and an eager multitude crowded in such a manner to the subscription, that it exceeded two millions of capital stock: in a few days the stock advanced to three hundred and forty pounds, and the subscriptions were sold for double the price of the first payment. At length, by a repetition of the same arts, and the promise of high dividends, the stock was raised to one thousand: Exchange-alley was every day filled with

LETTER V. with a multitude of people of all conditions; and the general infatuation prevailed till the eighth day of December, when the stock fell. It was now that the tide of hope began to ebb; and in a few days the spirits of the adventurers were sunk so low, that on the twenty-ninth day of the same month, the stock fell from a thousand to one hundred and fifty pounds: several eminent goldsmiths and bankers, who had lent great sums on the occasion, were obliged to stop payment and abscond; public credit sustained a shock; the nation was consequently thrown into a ferment; and the ravings of grief, disappointment, and despair, filled every place with noise, tumult, and confusion.

As several principal members of the ministry were deeply engaged in the support of the South Sea company, they employed their influence with the bank to support its credit; and at length that corporation, with much reluctance, agreed to subscribe into the stock of the South Sea company, valued at four hundred per cent, three millions five hundred thousand pounds, which the company were to repay to the bank on Lady-day and Michaelmas of the ensuing year. Books were opened at the bank to take in a subscription for the support of public credit, and considerable sums of money were brought in; the stock rose, and the expedient effectually answered the design of the contrivers, by enabling them to realize,

realize, without any great loss: however, the ensuing bankruptcy of goldsmiths, and the sword-blade company, occasioned such a run upon the bank, that the money was paid away faster than it was received on subscription; and the directors of the bank, seeing themselves in danger of being involved in the ruin of the South Sea company, renounced an agreement which they were under no legal obligation to perform. LETTER V.

DISAPPOINTMENT and despair again seized the minds of the numerous adventurers; and the clamour of the people increasing to an alarming height, expresses were sent to the King, who was at this time at Hanover, to hasten his return. His Majesty arrived in England on the eleventh day of December, and the parliament was assembled on the eighth of the preceding month. The South Sea business came immediately under consideration; the directors were ordered to produce an account of all their proceedings; a bill passed both houses, and was enacted into a law, for restraining the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treasurer, undertreasurer, cashier, secretary, and accomptants of the South-Sea company, from quitting the kingdom till the end of the next sessions of parliament; also for discovering their estates and effects, in order to prevent them from being transported or alienated; and a committee of secrecy was chosen by

LETTER V. ballot to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the execution of the South Sea act. The sub and deputy-governors, the directors and officers of the South Sea company, were examined at the bar of the house, and after the examination a bill was brought in, disabling them to enjoy any office in that company, or in the East-India company, or in the bank of England: nor did the vengeance of parliament stop here; an order was made to secure the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner; the persons of Sir George Caswell, Sir John Blount, and Sir John Lambert, were taken into custody; Sir Theodore Janssen, Mr. Sawbridge, Sir Robert Chaplain, and Mr. Eyles, were expelled the house, and apprehended; orders were given to remove all directors of the South Sea company from the places they possessed under the government, and their estates were confiscated by act of parliament.

As my very worthy grandfather, Mr. Jacob Sawbridge, was among those sufferers who were deemed public delinquents, whose estates were confiscated, whose persons were imprisoned, and who suffered the disgrace of disablement from bearing office, and expulsion from the house, I cannot leave this subject without informing you, my friend, if the concurrent testimony of all his contemporaries has not yet reached your ears, that my grandfather, though carried along
with

with the tide of other men's iniquity, was so perfectly free LETTER V.
from any intention or inclination to defraud the public, that he was never once accused of being let into the secret practices of Knight, and other of the guilty directors, that he always publicly and privately exclaimed against every unfair means taken by the direction to give an unnatural rise to the stock; and that it was generally acknowledged that the government, in order to appease the clamours of an enraged people, confounded the innocent with the guilty: and besides this, they were so shamefully partial in the distribution of justice, that several of the members of both houses of parliament, though deeply engaged with the directors in the notorious offences charged against them, escaped punishment. Mr. Aislaby alone, who had been the most forward in the promoting the South Sea scheme, was expelled the house, and committed to the tower.

AFTER the vengeance of the public had been in some measure appeased by the ruin which had fallen on the estates and property of the projectors and directors of the South Sea scheme, the parliament entered into means for the repairing in some measure the loss which had been sustained by individuals. The capital stock of the company in their corporate capacity exceeded by thirteen millions the stock allotted to all the proprietors; seven millions of this stock was enacted

LETTER V. by law to be paid to the public, and the remainder was to be divided among all the proprietors.

IT was not only to the South Sea scheme that such a large number of families owed their ruin. The spirit of gaming once set afloat was excited by the chimerical scheme of every knavish projector: one of these vultures, without explaining the advantageous scheme he pretended to have formed, published proposals for a subscription, declaring, that every person paying two guineas should be entitled to a subscription of one hundred pounds: and can you believe it, my friend? in one forenoon he received a thousand of these subscriptions: in the evening he set out for another kingdom. New companies were every day formed, and the first nobility of the kingdom appeared at their head: the Prince of Wales was constituted governor of the Welch copper company; the Duke of Chandos of the York-building; and the Duke of Bridgwater formed a third for building houses in London.

DURING the influence of these delusive hopes, the increase of luxury and vice kept more than equal pace with the imaginary increase of riches: individuals of the lowest class, lifted up in idea to the possession of large property, pampered themselves with rich dainties, with expensive wines, purchased sumptuous furniture, appeared in sumptuous equipages and
apparel;

apparel; and I have heard that it was in this period of vanity and extravagance that monopolizers first set an advanced price on the luxuries and even on the necessities of life, and that the markets, by the arts and chicanery of trade, never recovered their usual moderation. LETTER V.

THE presbyterians, the dissenters of all denominations, and the greater number of moralists, have dated the decline of virtue in England to the licentious days of Charles the Second: certain it is, that decency of manners, regard to public liberty and national good, received an irrecoverable check from the loose example of a profligate court, and from the scoffs and revilings of all those who, in a vulgar sense, were called great in the kingdom: and it is too true, my friend, that the æra of the Revolution, instead of introducing a more correct and regular system of manners, only added to the profligacy then prevailing, the meaner vices of fordid rapacity and venal corruption.

IT was now generally asserted, that every man had his price: the few instances which the times exhibited of self-denial, on the principles of honor and patriotism, were regarded as the effects of an enthusiastic lunacy; the electors paid no regard to their privileges, but as it enabled them to make a lucrative gain of their votes; the elected made the best

LETTER V. best market of their purchased seats; and opposition was now carried on without other motive than the bringing obscure men into notice, and enhancing the price of corruption: and yet, my friend, if ever the people of this country had reason to be in a more particular manner watchful of their political security and their national welfare, it was undoubtedly at this period, when they had a foreign prince on the throne; a prince, who was a stranger to the laws and constitution of Great-Britain; a prince, who, on all the principles which govern human affection, they had reason to expect was strongly attached to the arbitrary system of government which prevails in every German principality, and whose predilection for his native country must naturally be increased by the implicit obedience paid by all his hereditary subjects.

If any virtue had remained in England, these circumstances of well-grounded distrust would have awakened the attention and the caution of the people; but indeed it was so unfortunately the reverse, that for every law of the constitution, if there are any which yet remain unviolated, we are entirely indebted to the moderation or the timidity of our governors.

AFTER the same submission paid through the whole empire to the act for lengthening the duration of parliaments,
an

an act, which in its obvious consequences took away every LETTER V.
useful power from the people, and changed the constitution
to the very worst species of government, namely, to that of
a monarchy supported by aristocracy, you will not be sur-
prized, my friend, that on the same shallow pretence of fears
and apprehensions from the Pretender and his adherents, that
dangerous machine, a standing army, to the amount of above
sixteen thousand men, was granted to the King by parlia-
ment, though in the time of profound peace, and acquiesced
in by the people: and to render it yet more inimical to the
safety of the subject and the freedom of the constitution,
magna charta, and all the salutary statutes which guard the
lives of individuals from arbitrary judgment, without any
plea or pretence from any danger or inconvenience which had
arisen from legal modes of trial, were set aside in all circum-
stances which respected martial offences: and this body of
men, who from their particular situation are naturally too
much dependent on the Sovereign, exposed to the lash of an
arbitrary jurisdiction, nominated a court martial in all cases
of corporal punishment, even to the touching their lives.
In the year 1717-18 an act passed to this purpose, in which
forty-six articles of war are enumerated, and where the pu-
nishment for the several offences committed against these
articles are fines, imprisonment, whipping, and death.

LETTER V. IN the act which settled the crown of Great-Britain in succession on the Hanover line, among several wise limitations, were the following provisos :

That in case the crown and imperial dignity of the realm should hereafter come to any person not being a native of the kingdom of England, the nation should not be obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of parliament :

That no person who should hereafter come to the possession of the crown should hereafter go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of parliament.

THE salutary limitations, my friend, which are to be found in this act were, to the eternal disgrace of whiggism, repealed by the whig faction ; and the provisos were so ill kept, that a large sum of English money was given to enlarge the King's foreign territories, by the purchase of Bremen and Verden, territories taken from the King of Sweden by the assistance of England, and then sold to King George by the King of Denmark.

ON the pretence of repairing the gross defects, and to prevent the pernicious consequences of the peace of Utrecht, but in reality to deprive the Pretender and his party of any assistance from the French government, or any shelter in the French dominions, a triple alliance was formed between Great-Britain, France, and Holland: to this alliance the Emperor afterwards acceded; and the contracting parties engaged to compel, by force of arms, the Kings of Spain and Sardinia to accept the following conditions:

His Catholic Majesty was to renounce all rights and claims to the dominions of the Emperor in Italy or the Netherlands, and to renounce the right of reversion of Sicily to the crown of Spain, which he had reserved to himself in the treaty of Utrecht:

The duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, were to be accounted for ever as male fiefs of the empire, and were to descend, in default of male heirs, to the Queen of Spain's eldest son:

Leghorn was to remain a free port; and the King of Spain was to yield to his son the town Porto Longone, with what

LETTER V. he possessed in the island of Elba, as soon as the Prince of Spain should be in possession of Tuscany; none of these duchies were to be possessed by a Prince who should at the same time be King of Spain; nor was the King of Spain ever to take upon himself the guardianship of that Prince :

The King of Sicily was to restore that kingdom to the Emperor within two months, at farthest, after the ratification of the treaty :

In return, the Emperor was to give to the King of Sicily the island of Sardinia, which he was to enjoy with the title of King; but the reversion, in default of heirs male, was to be reserved to the crown of Spain.

THE improvement of commerce, my friend, may undoubtedly be reckoned among the arts of peace; and it is under the benign influence of the olive branch, and not by conquest and rapine, that societies flourish and grow rich. I have taken some liberty myself in ridiculing the cautious timidity of James the First; but undoubtedly the large foundations of the trade of England were laid in the reign of this monarch: and when I consider the tremendous amount of our national debt, with all its baneful consequences, I cannot help wishing that the successors of this Solomon of the English

English nation had possessed the pacific disposition of their great founder. LETTER V.

THE general commerce of many years would undoubtedly have made up for the inadequateness of the peace of Utrecht; but it has ever been, and, I believe, ever will be, the bane of this country, while it exists as an independent society, to rush into unnecessary and expensive wars; to give up all the fruits of very dear-bought conquests in the patching up of hasty treaties of peace; and when the nation is just on the point of emerging out of the poverty which war produces, the paroxysms of Quixote rage return, and we are again, without the plea of necessity, or even rational cause, suddenly thrown into all the horrors and distresses of war.

THE peace of Utrecht, after a tedious war of thirteen years, was concluded in the year fourteen; and it was not three years after when we were again involved in a rupture with Sweden and Spain, two nations whose commerce were, above all others, highly beneficial to England. The complying Commons, however, without any hesitation, passed a bill prohibiting all commerce with Sweden; voted ten thousand seamen for the ensuing year; granted a million for the maintenance of guards, garrisons, and land forces; four and twenty thousand pounds for the payment of four battalions from

LETTER V. Munster, and two from Saxe Gotha, which the King had taken into his service to supply the place of such as might be drawn from the garrisons of the States-General to the assistance of England, during an expected rebellion; for the King of Sweden, it seems, had threatened an invasion, and had corresponded with the English malecontents.

THE bill for mutiny and desertion was passed this session; but the loyalty and liberality of the Commons were not equal to the expectations or the necessities of the Monarch; and Mr. Secretary Stanhope brought a message from his Majesty, demanding an extraordinary supply, that he might be the better enabled to secure his dominions against the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden.

THE apprehensions of invasion from abroad, and an unnatural rebellion at home, are arguments which, from the period of the Revolution, every minister has successfully used to carry on unconstitutional and unpopular measures.

It was very justly considered as a mere pretence by the opposition; and on these grounds it was proposed, that part of the army should be disbanded, and the money applied towards the making good such new engagements as were deemed necessary. This proposal shared the same fate as
every

every other proposal advantageous to the country had done LETTER V.
since the period of the Revolution, when the base method
of governing by the arts of corruption was first formed into
a regular system: however, after several successive debates,
the resolution for a supply was carried by four voices only.

THE formidableness of the quadruple alliance did not terrify the King of Spain into a submission to the conditions which that alliance attempted to impose. By the care and vigilance of his prime minister Cardinal Alberoni, he equipped a very powerful armament, which in the beginning of June set sail from Barcelona towards Italy, with the intention to attack Sicily; but, to the great mortification of his Catholic Majesty, his fleet, near the point of Faro, was met by a strong squadron of English ships, under the command of Sir George Byng; an engagement ensued, and the Spanish fleet was totally routed and destroyed.

THIS success, though great, did not put an end to the contest: an invasion was attempted in Scotland in favor of the Pretender; but, like all other attempts of the same kind, it only drew in a few enthusiastic friends of the family, and served as a pretence for enlarging the sea and land establishments in England, and to raise some millions on the people in the way of an extraordinary supply.

THE

LETTER V. THE death of the King of Sweden, in the year 1717, by a cannon ball before Frederickstadz, accelerated to the King of England the undisturbed possession of the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and in the year following, when his Majesty, who very frequently visited these favorite dominions, was at Hanover, he concluded a treaty with Ulrica, the Queen of Sweden, by which he obliged himself, for the surrender of the forementioned duchies, to pay to Sweden a million of rixdollars, and to renew, as King of Great-Britain and Elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly subsisting between his predecessors and the sovereigns of that kingdom.

THE King of Spain, finding himself surrounded and alone amongst a host of foes, (for the Imperial and French armies were now in action in Italy, whilst the English navy lay at hand to assist the allies) at length submitted to a fate which he was in no condition to withstand; and, giving up his pretensions to the kingdom of Sicily in the year 1719, acceded to the quadruple alliance.

THOUGH you will find, my friend, through the whole of this long narrative, that I shall have very few instances to relate of constitutional points carried against the government, yet, in the more early period of corruption, it was not without some difficulty that the ministry were enabled to pursue
measures

measures diametrically opposite to the interest of the nation. **LETTER V.**

The payment of the debts of the civil list, amounting to five hundred and fifty thousand pounds, was not carried without warm opposition, though his Majesty declared a resolution of retrenching his civil list expences for the future; and, to avoid laying any new burthen on the people, proposed, that the money raised on the occasion should be paid by a deduction to be made out of the salaries and wages of all offices, and the pensions and other payments from the crown. On the receipt of the King's message, importing that he had agreed to pay a subsidy to the crown of Sweden, a very hot debate arose, in which the measures of administration were animadverted on with great freedom and spirit. Sir William Windham declared himself against the subsidy to Sweden, as an unnecessary charge; and the Lord Molesworth, a steady friend to the cause of liberty, and the particular interests of his country, declared, that Great-Britain, by its late conduct, was become the ally to the whole world, and a bubble to all its allies; that the alliance with Sweden was a matter of great intricacy and nicety, because the treaties which England had at diverse times made with Sweden were partly contradictory; that the engagements lately entered into with that crown were in some measure contrary to the treaties subsisting with Denmark, particularly, as to the securing to the Duke of Holstein the duchy of Sleswich, and directly opposite

to

LETTER V. to the measures formerly concerted with the Czar of Muscovy, in order to engage him to check the fierceness and the ambition of the King of Sweden; that it seemed unreasonable to expect that the Czar should restore his conquests, whilst other princes kept the spoils of Sweden; and therefore, in order to engage the Czar to yield what he had gained, it was but just that the King of Prussia should give up Stettin, and the elector of Hanover, Bremen and Verden.

To these observations Lord Moleſworth, who never lost an opportunity of enlarging on those distresses which nations incur from the servile disposition of the species, added, that the distressed condition to which the Swedes had been reduced was worthy of compassion; but, on the other hand, they had been the authors of their own misfortunes, by their tame submission to a despotic, tyrannical prince, and by sacrificing their whole substance to enable him to carry on his unjust, rash, and ambitious designs, and that any nation who followed their example deserved the same fate.

AMONG other observations, Lord Moleſworth took notice of the hard usage of the subjects of Mecklenburgh from their prince, which usage he insinuated to have been the cause of the late rupture with the Czar: but let these matters stand as they might, England ought not to meddle in the
affairs

affairs of the Continent: the getting of naval stores for our shipping, Lord Moleſworth obſerved, was the main advantage we reaped from our trade in the Baltic; but if due encouragement was given to ſome of our plantations in America, we might be ſupplied from thence at a much cheaper rate than from Sweden and Norway. LETTER V.

THIS ſhrewd ſpeaker, my friend, in the courſe of his ſpeech, obſerved, that hemp was a very neceſſary commodity, particularly at this juncture; and the ſarcaſm had no other effect than what, in theſe modern times, has often moved to ſome warmth of reſentment your patriotic ſpirit, namely, to raiſe a loud laugh in the houſe; and on the queſtion's being put, that a ſupply be granted to his Majeſty to enable him to make good the engagements he had entered into with the crown of Sweden, it was carried in the affirmative by one hundred and ninety-ſeven voices againſt one hundred and thirty-fix.

THOUGH the powerful engine, corruption, was in general the efficient cauſe which produced that entire complacency of parliament to the will of the crown, ſo unfimilar to the conduct of theſe aſſemblies in more ſtubborn times, yet, my friend, it was ſometimes owing to an indiſcreet zeal to preſerve the proteſtant ſucceſſion; a zeal frequently heated and

LETTER V. alarmed by the impotent attempts of the jacobites to bring us back to the dominion of a popish prince; a circumstance at this time more dreadful to the nation than poverty, slavery, vice, and immorality; and a circumstance which, for these reasons, the court never failed to avail itself of, when the people were to be pillaged, to enlarge or secure the foreign territories of their prince, or to increase his power at home, by the sacrifice of some of those principles in the constitution, which the wisdom of our ancestors had established as necessary securities to preserve the freedom of the people against the power of the prince.

IN the beginning of May, seventeen hundred and twenty-one, it was reported that the King had received of the Duke of Orleans full and certain information of a fresh conspiracy against his person and government; a camp was immediately formed in Hyde-park; the military officers ordered to repair to their respective commands; Lieutenant-general Maccartney dispatched to Ireland to bring over a body of troops from that kingdom; the States of Holland were desired to have their auxiliary or guaranty troops in readiness to be embarked; Colonel Churchill was sent to the court of France with a private commission; and some suspected persons were apprehended in Scotland.

THESE

THESE great preparations, my friend, which by the bye LETTER V. were on the eve of a new parliament, where a more warm opposition was expected than any the ministry had yet sustained, had all their intended effect: the apprehensions of the people ran so high that they even affected the public credit; South-Sea stock began to fall; and it was followed by a great and uncommon run on the bank.

ON a letter written by the King's command, by Lord Townshend, one of the secretaries of state, to the Mayor of London, signifying that his Majesty had received unquestionable advices that several of his subjects had entered into a wicked conspiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raising a rebellion in favor of a popish pretender, the court of aldermen immediately assembled, an affectionate address was returned, and the example of London was followed by the greater number of cities and boroughs in the kingdom.

AMONG the individuals, my friend, who suffered in the liberty of their persons on this tremendous occasion, were Atterbury bishop of Rochester, the Earl of Orrery, the Lords North and Grey, Cockran and Smith from Scotland, Christopher Layer a young student of the Temple, George Kelly an Irish clergyman, Robert Cotton of Huntingdonshire, Bingley, Fleetwood, and Naynoe an Irish priest.

LETTER V. ON the meeting of the new parliament they were made acquainted by the mouth of his Majesty of the nature of the conspiracy; the conspirators, he told them, had, by their emissaries, made the strongest instances for succours from foreign powers, but were disappointed in their expectations; nevertheless, confiding in their numbers, they resolved once more, upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of his government; they had provided, he said, considerable sums of money, engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, secured large quantities of arms and ammunition; and, had not the plot been timely discovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confusion.

To this formidable representation, delivered from the sacred lips of a King, Mr. Robert Walpole, the prime minister, added the story of a design to seize the Bank and the Exchequer, and then proclaim the Pretender on the Royal-Exchange: and however problematical you, and other sceptics in politics, my friend, might have thought this tale, I do assure you, it had such an effect on the audience, that a bill for suspending the habeas corpus act for a whole year passed the two houses without much difficulty, and, as you may well imagine, immediately received the royal assent. But, however, it is to be noticed, that in the protest of some few dissenting

Letter V.
dissenting Lords, they take notice that this detestable conspiracy, which occasioned the suspension, had been discovered and signified to the city of London five months before the meeting of the parliament; that several had been imprisoned for it a considerable time past; and therefore the protestors did conceive it to be highly unreasonable to suppose that the danger of the plot, in the hands of a faithful and diligent ministry, would continue for a year and more yet to come; and that in so high a degree as to require a suspension of the liberty of the subject during that length of time.

IN the midst of that high panic which the alarm given from the throne had occasioned, an original and printed copy of a declaration, signed by the Pretender, and dated at Lucca on the twentieth day of September, seventeen hundred and twenty-two, fourteen days before the meeting of parliament, was sent by his Majesty to the house of Lords: this curious paper appeared to be a proposal addressed to the subjects of Great-Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states; it mentioned the violation of the freedom of elections, which, in the way of bribery, threats, oppressive measures of landlords to their tenants, open violations of the peace at the time of election, and undue proceedings in the house of Commons in their judgment on returns, had been very flagrant in this reign; it mentioned a variety of inventions

LETTER V. inventions to give a colour to new oppressions, infamous informers, and the state of proscription to which every honest man was subjected; and it very gravely proposed, that if King George would relinquish to the right heir the throne of Britain, the right heir, in return for such an honest concession, would bestow upon the said King George the title of King in his native dominions; and it ended with a promise to leave to King George his succession to the British dominions secure, whenever in due course his natural right should take place.

THOUGH this declaration can be considered by the judicious in no other light than as the bravado of a disappointed, desperate man, yet at this time it served to corroborate the highly exaggerated relations which had been set forth by the government, and gave a sanction, or rather a being, to the oppressions which followed: the declaration was, in the upper house, unanimously resolved to be a false, insolent, and traitorous libel, and ordered to be burnt at the Royal-Exchange: both houses joined in an address, expressing their utmost astonishment at the surprising insolence of the Pretender, and assuring his Majesty that they were determined to support his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes.

ONE bill was prepared by the Commons, for raising one hundred thousand pounds upon the real and personal estates of all papists, or persons educated in the popish religion, towards defraying the expences occasioned by the late rebellion and disorders; and another, obliging all persons being papists in Scotland, and all persons in Great-Britain refusing and neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the security of the King's person and government, to register their names and real estates. LETTER V.

THE first of these bills, my friend, was strenuously opposed by several members, as a species of persecution; and it is worthy observation, that the prime minister, Mr. Robert Walpole, after he had represented the dangers the nation had been in, ever since the Reformation, from the constant endeavors of papists to subvert our happy constitution, and the protestant religion, by the most cruel, violent, and unjustifiable methods, declared, that he would not take upon him to charge any particular person among them with being concerned in the present horrid conspiracy; however, on the demerit of past offences, the bill was carried in the affirmative by two hundred and seventeen votes against one hundred and sixty-eight; and among the Lords I do not find that it met with any warm opposition.

THESE

LETTER V.

THESE pecuniary punishments, my friend, were followed with the trial, the conviction, and the execution of Laver; and though Laver, in his examination before a committee of the house of Commons, either could not, or would not discover the particulars of the conspiracy, yet it was reported to the house by Mr. Pultney, the chairman of the committee of examination, That it appeared from the examination of Laver and others, that a detestable and horrid conspiracy had been formed and carried on by persons of figure and distinction, and their agents and instruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for invading these kingdoms with foreign forces; for raising insurrections and a rebellion at home; for seizing the tower and the city of London; for laying violent hands on the persons of his most sacred Majesty and the Prince of Wales, in order to subvert our present happy constitution in church and state, by placing a popish Pretender on the throne: That the first intention of the conspirators was to procure a body of foreign troops to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections, but the conspirators, being disappointed in this expectation, resolved to make an attempt at the time that it was generally believed the King was at Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved from abroad, under the command of the late Duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for
that

that purpose, at which time the Tower was to have been seized: That this scheme being also defeated by the vigilance of the government, they deferred their enterprize till the breaking up of the camp, and in the mean time employed their agents to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army: That it appeared from several letters and circumstances that the late Duke of Ormond, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Orrery, the Lords North and Grey, and the Bishop of Rochester, were concerned in the conspiracy; that their acting agents were Christopher Layer and John Plunket, Dennis Kelly, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte, non-juring clergymen, Naynoe the Irish priest, lately drowned in the river Thames in attempting to make his escape from the messenger's house, a Mrs. Spelman alias Yallop, and John Sample.

It is to be observed, that the conspirators were charged with the absurd conduct of having made application to the regent of France, who was well known to be intimately connected with the King of Great-Britain, and that no evidence did appear to ground any process against the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Orrery, and the Lords North and Grey; but Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a man of shining parts and abilities, though narrow and limited in his notions of government and policy, and closely connected

LETTER V. with Queen Anne's last tory ministry, had been too eloquent in the house of Lords, and too active in constitutional opposition, to escape with impunity. On the mere evidence of hearsay and conjecture, a bill of pains and penalties passed the lower house; the Bishop declined making any defence to the Commons, and the bill was sent up to the Lords. On the trial before that assembly it appears, that the only evidence on which they could ground the colour of a proof against the Bishop was certain decyphered letters, which, taken simply, carried no treason in them, but which were wrested into treason by a name in the direction of one of them, which was said to be a cant name of the Pretender's; and in this case the oaths of the clerks of the post-office were taken as a sufficient evidence for their being the hand-writing of Kelly, amanuensis to the Bishop; nor were the decyphers, or the clerks of the office, suffered to answer the delinquent those questions which he thought necessary for his defence, nor was Kelly, the secretary, permitted to be examined.

THESE unfair dealings, my friend, are very dangerous precedents of inquisitorial power. The Duke of Wharton, in a long speech, shewed the weakness, the insufficiency, the contradiction, in every part of the evidence which was brought against the prisoner; and added, that such proceedings, like
 Syfypus's

Sisyphus's stone, frequently rolled back on those who were the chief promoters of them. Lord Cowper, who had taken the same side of the question with the Duke of Wharton, at the close of a long harangue, in which he fully proved the insufficiency of legal or even probable evidence, addressed the house in the following manner :

“ My Lords,

“ Upon the whole matter I take this bill to be derogatory
“ to the dignity of the parliament in general, to the dignity
“ of the house in particular; I take the pains and penalties
“ in it to be much greater or less than the Bishop deserves; I
“ take every individual branch of the charge against him to
“ be unsupported by any evidence; I think there are no
“ grounds for any private opinion of the Bishop's guilt, but
“ what arises from private prejudices.”

THERE were several other Lords who exerted themselves with warmth in the Bishop's favor; but the Duke of Wharton and Lord Cowper were the two capital speakers; they argued with a precision which must have convinced every undetermined voter; but, my friend, they argued in vain; the matter had been fixed in the cabinet, and the bill of pains and penalties passed by a majority of forty, i. e. eighty-three against forty-three. The pains and penalties

LETTER V. which this bill enacted against the sufferer were, the deprivation of all his offices, dignities, and benefices ecclesiastical whatsoever; disablement of taking, holding, or enjoying any office, dignity, benefice, or employment, within the realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions, and also of using or exercising any office, function, authority, or power, ecclesiastical or civil; that he should be for ever banished the realm, and all other his Majesty's dominions, and should depart out of the same before the twenty-fifth of June, seventeen hundred and twenty-three.

THAT all persons who should, from and after the said twenty-fifth of June, be aiding and assisting to his return into the realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions, or should harbor or conceal him within the same, or any of them, being thereof lawfully convicted, should be adjudged guilty of felony, and should suffer or forfeit, as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy.

THE same penalty, my friend, was annexed to the holding correspondence with the Bishop, without exception to any persons whatsoever; and to make it still more binding, every offence committed against the act was to be tried in any county within the realm of Great-Britain.

THIS

THIS severe bill differs in the last article from that which LETTER V. in Charles the Second's time had passed against the Earl of Clarendon ; yet, as Lord Cowper observed, the Lord Clarendon had fled from his prosecution and retired beyond sea, and the crimes alledged against him were too apparent to need any witnesses.

THE punishment of the Bishop of Rochester was a blow levelled at the whole high-church party, who looked up to this prelate as their chief ornament and support : the whole kingdom resounded with their complaints, and even their execrations, on the occasion : they represented the indignity as an outrage upon the church of England and the episcopal order ; and carried their zeal such venturous lengths, as to offer up public prayers for his health in almost all the churches and chapels in London and Westminster. Not so sincere the conduct or warm the zeal of the tory faction, with whom the Bishop had been strictly connected ; for either rendered timid by the terror with which the conspiracy had filled the minds of all men, or willing to compliment an established minister in a point on which the government were warmly set, they all left the house in a body when the bill was brought into the Commons.

THE

LETTER V. THE remaining part of the history of George the First, my friend, is barren of all events which can give any scope to the genius of an historical writer, and entirely deprives an author of the superlative pleasure of striking the imaginations of his readers either with pleasure or admiration : in short, it contains a tedious repetition of intricate and contradictory treaties, all formed with the view of securing the King's dominions on the Continent, and to deprive the subjects at home of any hope of a change of ruinous measures by a change of persons at the helm of government ; and it contains a tedious repetition of the prostitute conduct of parliaments, who lavishly granted the people's money for no other end but the purposes mentioned above, and for the corruption of the people at large, in a manner as should render them the willing instruments of the destruction of the national welfare abroad, and the undermining their own privileges at home.

To enable the King to fulfil some new engagements which he had entered into with the Kings of Prussia and Denmark, for the sole purpose and with the sole view of securing Bremen and Verden, the Commons voted ten thousand seamen, and agreed to maintain four thousand additional troops which had been raised in the preceding year ; an addition which
increased

increased the establishment of the land forces to eighteen thousand two hundred and sixty-four men. LETTER V.

MR. Shippen, a man justly celebrated for his steady and inflexible opposition to all the unconstitutional and ruinous measures which had been pursued through this reign, endeavored to prove, by the situation of affairs both at home and abroad, that the addition was unnecessary, and consequently to be avoided, as a dangerous innovation and a needless expence. “ If (says he) not so much as the four thousand
“ augmentation of troops are to be parted with; if they
“ are to be continued till the pretences of all the princes in
“ Europe shall be adjusted, till the different interests of dif-
“ ferent nations shall be reconciled, till the claim of Bre-
“ men and Verden shall be fully settled and acquiesced in,
“ till the long-expected form of a congress shall be com-
“ pleted; I freely own I am not without my apprehensions
“ that our immense national debt, instead of being annually
“ reduced, will be daily increased; that our present griev-
“ ances, for grievances we have in the midst of all our
“ tranquility, instead of being speedily removed, will be-
“ come perpetual, and we may dream of blessings we may
“ never enjoy.”

“
MR.

LETTER V.

MR. YONGE, a very staunch friend to the government, was the person appointed by the ministry to answer Mr. Shippen; and this gentleman, in the speech he made on the occasion, gave the house very fairly to understand, that however pacific might be the appearances, both at home and abroad, it was the intention of the higher powers to keep the rod of oppression still impending over the heads of the people, and not to suffer any diminution of the military strength: the prosperous situation of affairs, he said, the peace with all powers abroad, and the perfect tranquility at home, being in a great measure owing to the good posture we were in, both by sea and land, which made us respected abroad, and secure at home, it would be imprudence not to continue those forces on the same foot.

NEITHER the powerful arguments of Mr. Shippen against the augmentation, my friend, or the suspected reasons of Mr. Yonge for its continuance, had any effect on the house; the augmentation was carried by a majority of one hundred and seven voices; all the demanded supplies, though exorbitant, were granted without hesitation; and a deficiency of above five hundred thousand pounds in the civil list was made up in the same manner and by the same means as the same deficiency had been made up three years before.

MR.

MR. PULTNEY, who had moved for an address, that an account should be laid before the house of all monies paid for secret service, pensions, and bounties, from the twenty-fifth day of March in the year one thousand seven hundred and one, to the twenty-fifth of the same month in the present year seventeen hundred and twenty-four, urged, that the consideration of the King's message, relating to the deficiency, should be postponed until the house should have examined the papers which were the subject of the address: he expressed his surprize that a debt, amounting to above five hundred thousand pounds, had been contracted in three years; and sarcastically added, he did not wonder that some persons should be so eager to make good the deficiencies of the civil list, since they and their friends enjoyed such a share in that revenue.

THUS spoke Mr. Pultney; but, like every other member who spoke on the side of his country, he spoke in vain. No sooner had England got rid of one expensive continental connection but she was dragged into another: the jarrings of the European princes, though it was improbable that they could remotely affect England, allowed no breathing time to this unfortunate country: and as the different potentates all knew that the most distant danger of an attempt on the King's German dominions threw him in a panic, and that the influence he had over venal parliaments made him master

LETTER V. of the purse of Great-Britain, they played on his fears, and availed themselves of his partiality and his power to prosecute their own quarrels and ambitious views with English money; and thus, by enriching themselves and impoverishing a formidable maritime state, maintained the balance of Europe, which our growing greatness might have overset if we had not so heartily concurred in poising the scales of power.

ON a close union which at this time took place between the courts of Spain and Vienna, though its terms were perfectly agreeable to the treaty transacted at London between the courts of France and England, the King, who imagined he had reason to fear from the Emperor an attempt on his German dominions, took the alarm. A negociation between Prussia, France, and England, took place at Hanover in the month of September, seventeen hundred and twenty-seven, and concluded with a defensive treaty, limited to the term of fifteen years, and which implied a mutual guaranty of the dominions possessed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, those of commerce in particular, and an engagement to procure satisfaction to the protestants of Thorn, who had lately been oppressed by the catholics contrary to the treaty of Oliva.

THE protestant cause, you know, my friend, though it had LETTER V.
been taken up and forsaken upon every point in which the
interest, the grandeur, or the caprice of the sovereign was
concerned, yet it was a bait which never failed to draw in
gudgeons to the minister's net; though it is plain to be
seen that the King's interests in Germany dictated the treaty
of Hanover, and that articles of commerce and the protestant
religion were inserted merely to secure the approbation of
the British subjects to the terms of the alliance, they had
the same effect as if these articles were the primary and sole
end of the treaty.

THE King, in his speech to the two houses, gave them to
understand, that the distressed condition of some of their pro-
testant brethren abroad, and the negociations and engage-
ments contracted by some foreign powers, which seemed to
have laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in
Europe, and to threaten his subjects with the loss of several
of the most advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged
him to concert with other powers such measures as might
give a check to the ambitious views of those who were en-
deavoring to render themselves formidable, and put a stop
to such dangerous designs: the enemies of government, he
added, were very busy, by their instruments and emissaries
in those courts, whose measures seemed most to favor their

LETTER V. purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the Pretender.

THE ministry, you may be certain, my friend, did not fail to expatiate largely on the hints flung out in his Majesty's speech; they rung the changes of the designs of a popish Pretender, the protestant interest, and the balance of power, with their usual success; and asserted, that the Emperor, and the King of Spain, exclusive of the public treaties concluded at Vienna, had entered into private engagements, importing, that the Imperialists should join the Spaniards in recovering Gibraltar and Port Mahon, by force of arms, in case the King of England should refuse to restore them amicably, according to a solemn promise he had made; that a double marriage should take place between the two Infants of Spain and the two Archduchesses of Austria; and that means should be taken to place the Pretender on the throne of Britain.

HORATIO Walpole, the brother to the minister, was the chief speaker on the side of the government. It is to be noticed, that he had formerly exclaimed with violence against that article of the treaty of Utrecht which prevented the houses of Austria and Spain from being immediately united in the person of the Emperor: but time and experience, you know, my friend, bring conviction of error to a candid mind;

mind; and this you may, if you please, suppose to be the case with Mr. Walpole, who now enlarged, with equal warmth, on the danger to which the balance of power would be exposed, should the issue male of the projected marriage between the houses of Austria and Spain at any time possess the united powers of the Imperial dignity and the crown of Spain. LETTER V.

SHIPPEN, the honest and determined opposer of all continental connections, urged that the treaty of Hanover would engage the British nation in a war for the defence of the King's German dominions, contrary to an express provision made in the act of settlement.

THESE observations were not only repeated in vain, but the Commons, to shew their contempt for the worthy speaker, and the conditions of the act of settlement, in their address to the throne, at the same time that they approved the alliance the King had concluded at Hanover, they promised his Majesty that they would support him against all insults and attacks which should be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great-Britain.

LETTER V. IT is to be noticed that the King, in his speech from the throne on the opening the sessions of parliament, after declaring the great unwillingness he ever had to put his subjects to an extraordinary expence by any unnecessary precautions, assured the two houses, that if the supplies they gave were fully and effectually raised, he should be enabled to have a strong fleet at sea early in the spring; yet the consequence of the Commons' loyal address, containing such flattering assurances, was a message desiring an extraordinary supply, that his Majesty might be enabled to augment his maritime force, and concert such other measures as should be necessary in the present conjuncture.

AFTER a short debate, in which Mr. Shippen, as on a former occasion, urged the unparliamentary conduct of asking and granting supplies without any estimate of the expence, the question was put, and the extraordinary supply carried by a majority of eighty-nine votes; a proof of the increasing confidence with which his Majesty's reign was yearly blessed, since, on the former occasion hinted at above, the ministry carried the question by a majority of four only.

To shew you, my friend, that the Commons had some reasons for their conduct, the King had been graciously pleased, in his answer to the loyal address, to assure the two
houses,

houses, that he had no views of ambition to gratify; he had LETTER V.
no thoughts of aggrandising himself, or extending any part
of his dominions, at the hazard and expence of the other;
and, as his honor was the common cause and concern of his
subjects, their particular interests should, upon all occasions,
be his peculiar care.

WITH the grant of all the demanded supplies, the parliament gave their sanction to the keeping on foot the large standing army voted the year before. The protestant cause was still in danger; and a tumult at Glasgow, on the provocation of a new tax on malt, though very inconsiderable in its rise and consequences, afforded a corroborating argument to carry this favorite point.

THE sensible individuals of all parties, however they might differ on systems of policy, united in the opinion, that it was not the interest of a commercial state, struggling with the burthen of a large debt, to enter into needless wars, and unprovoked hostilities; and the argument urged by the ministry, for putting the nation to so large an expence in the increase of the naval and land establishments, was the necessity of putting England in a state of defence against the intrigues and pernicious treaties newly concluded between the Emperor, the Spanish monarch, and their allies;
yet

LETTER V. yet before these princes had entered into any overt act of war, rear-admiral Hoffer, in April 1726, was directed to sail to the Spanish West-Indies, with the intent of making prize of the Spanish galleons which at this season of the year transport to Spain the treasures found in the rich mines of this part of its dominions.

THE intention of the court of England reached the ear of the Spanish monarch before the design could be executed; and an advice-boat got the start of Hoffer time enough to secure the treasure, to the amount of six millions sterling, by directing that it should be unloaded and carried back to Panama.

THUS, without reaping any profit from the expedition, England incurred the odium of having entered into a mean piratical scheme of robbing the court of Spain of its expected treasure, even whilst a peace subsisted between the two nations.

ADMIRAL Hoffer, whose orders were strictly confined to the seizing the Spanish galleons, lay inactive before Porto Bello till he became the laughing-stock of the Spaniards, till the greater part of his men perished by the diseases incident to that unhealthy climate, and till his ships were destroyed by worms. The Spaniards seized the English South-Sea ship
at

at La Vera Cruz, together with all the vessels and effects LETTER V. belonging to that company; and a few Spanish ships were taken by way of reprisal.

THE fate of Hoffer, who regretted so much the being restricted from obeying the dictates of his courage in the laying siege to Porto Bello, as to die of a broken heart, together with the ill success of the expedition, raised a loud clamour in England; yet the ministry had sufficient influence to carry every measure of the court in parliament. To this assembly his Majesty, after repeating the substance of what he had before advanced, continued his speech with assuring the two houses, that one of the secret articles subsisting between the Emperor and the court of Spain was the placing the Pretender on the throne of Great-Britain, and another the conquest of Gibraltar and Port Mahon; he affirmed, that the combinations against Great-Britain extended themselves into Russia; that the English fleet seasonably prevented such designs as would have opened a way to the invasion of the kingdoms of Great-Britain; that the King of Spain had ordered his minister, residing in England, to quit the kingdom, and that he had left a memorial, little short of a declaration, in which he insisted upon the restitution of Gibraltar. As usual, he exhorted the Commons to grant such supplies as should be necessary for the defence of their country,

LETTER V. and for making good his engagements with the allies of Great-Britain; and, as usual, his Majesty ended his speech with expatiating largely on the balance of power in Europe, the security of the British commerce, the designs of a popish Pretender, the present happy establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a free people.

ON the motion of Mr. Onslow for an humble address, echoing back the speech from the throne, Mr. Shippen urged, that the matter of peace and war was of the greatest weight which could fall under the consideration of that assembly; and that, in order to give proper advice to his Majesty, they ought to consider several papers which were absolutely necessary to be communicated to them, to state certain facts relating to these weighty matters.

SIR William Wyndham, in descanting on the unsteadiness of our councils, observed, that of late years our measures had been in a perpetual fluctuation; that, Penelope-like, we were continually weaving and unravelling the same web; one time raising up the Emperor to depress France, and now we were depressing the Emperor to aggrandize France: a conduct which, under the pretence of holding the balance of Europe, would engage us in continual wars.

MR.

MR. Hungerford threw a ridicule on the tremendous dangers represented by the government, and in particular on the Czarina and the King of Spain's design of invading England with five or six men of war, a project which might at any time be defeated by the ordinary guard-ships; that the fears of the Pretender were groundless and chimerical, and he could not tell how they could bring him over, unless they borrowed Captain Gulliver's floating island; he accused the ministry of negligence, in suffering the Ostend company to get a footing in Europe and India; and as to Gibraltar, the demand of which was alledged as a proof of an offensive alliance between the Emperor and the King of Spain, he had in his pocket the purport of the secret article relating to that affair, which was only, that in case the King of Spain could produce a positive promise from Great-Britain to restore Gibraltar, his Imperial Majesty would engage to become a mediator and guarantee for the performance of such a promise. LETTER IV.

SIR Thomas Hanmer observed, that foreign princes might make a political use of the Pretender, as a state bugbear to frighten and alarm us, and thereby endeavor to make us subservient to their ambitious designs; " but, in my opinion, " (says he) the interest of the Chevalier was never so low, nor " his party so inconsiderable and so despicable, as at present; " and therefore, in this day's debate, he ought to be left

LETTER V. “ entirely out of the question. I am apprehensive the ac-
 “ quifition of some dominions abroad have sown the seeds
 “ and are the true causes of the divisions and distractions
 “ which now threaten the general tranquility of Europe, by
 “ drawing us into unaccountable compliances, for the Em-
 “ peror, on the one hand, and into a promise, at least a
 “ conditional one, for the restitution of Gibraltar, on the
 “ other hand.”

IN the house of Lords, the Lord Bathurst took notice, that the accession of the States-General to the treaty was upon condition that the act should be approved and ratified by the Kings of Great-Britain, France, and Prussia, but that the minister of his Prussian Majesty had refused to sign the act of accession, which was therefore of no effect; that if the court of France should, for the same reason, think itself disengaged from the Havover alliance, Britain alone would be obliged to bear the burthen of an expensive war against two of the greatest potentates in Europe.

LORD Bathurst observed, that the nation was loaded with a debt of fifty millions, and, in order to maintain such a war, would be obliged to raise seven millions yearly, an annual sum by which the people would soon be exhausted: he imputed the violent state of affairs between the two crowns

to the English ministry; and mentioned a positive promise LETTER V. made by the King of Great-Britain for the restitution of Gibraltar.

LORD Townshend, in the upper house, affirmed, that no promise for restoring Gibraltar had been made, and in the house of Commons Sir Robert Walpole owned the fact; but notwithstanding the contradiction, and these double dealings in the ministry, the court triumphed over the opposition; the addresses were carried by a great majority, and were followed by a vote of the Commons for the raising twenty thousand seamen, and six and twenty thousand three hundred and eighty-three men for the land service; and to defray the extraordinary expence, a land-tax of four shillings in the pound was granted.

SEVENTEEN Lords entered their protest against the resolution for an address in the upper house; and several ineffectual motions were made, to the following purport, among the Commons :

First, That the engagements relative to the restoring Gibraltar should be laid before the house :

Secondly,

LETTER V. Secondly, For a copy of the memorial presented by Mr. Poyntz to the King of Sweden :

Thirdly, To address the King for such memorials and representations from the courts of Sweden and Denmark as induced him, in the course of the preceding year, to send a squadron to the Baltic : and

Fourthly, For an account of the money granted for the last year.

THE last motion was made on there being an article of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds issued out for other engagements, over and above such as were specified. The granting money with a frugal hand, and the examining with strictness the public accounts, is, you know, my friend, the great use and duty of parliaments; but we are now arrived to the period, when a total complaisance, even in this great point, to the will of a minister, has given a large fund for corruption in the hands of government; has rendered parliaments obnoxious to a great part of the community, who consider them as an expensive, burthenfome part of the constitution, and the instruments by which the people are fleeced and beggared with impunity.

PALMS,

PALMS, the Imperial resident at the court of Vienna, pre-
sented a memorial to the King, in which he contradicted all
the assertions in his speech, and accused his Majesty with
having declared from his throne, as certain and undoubted
facts, several things which were either wrested, misrepresented,
or void of all foundation. LETTER V.

THIS memorial was afterwards made public; and the parliament, without giving themselves the trouble to examine into the truth of what the memorial had advanced, presented another address to the throne, expressive of their indignation at the insolence of the memorial.

THESE mutual affronts were followed with virulent declarations presented by the ministers of the Emperor and the King of Great-Britain at the diet of Ratisbon. It was now time for the court of England to secure itself against the impending storm. A more strict engagement was entered into with the French King; a new treaty concluded with the King of Denmark; it was agreed to pay fifty thousand pounds, for three years, to the King of Sweden, in consideration of that prince's holding in readiness a body of ten thousand men for the occasions of the alliance; his Britannic Majesty engaged for four and twenty thousand men, and a strong squadron to be sent into the Baltic, and made a convention with the Prince
of

LETTER V. of Hesse Cassel, who undertook to provide eight thousand infantry, and four thousand horse, in consideration of the immediate payment of seventy-four thousand pounds, and fifty thousand pounds more in case the troops should be required, besides their pay and subsistence.

ACCORDING to what Lord Bathurst had advanced in the house of Lords, the King of Prussia, though he had married George's daughter, deserted his interest, and went over to the Emperor; and the States-General were shy of entering into the alliance. Thus England had no other resource but its natural enemy the King of France, the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the principality of Hesse-Cassel: but it is to be observed, that neither of these powers would contribute their assistance without being gratified with exorbitant subsidies; though the danger being common, the expence, as far as their powers would go, ought to have been equal.

THE parliament, you know, my friend, had given full confidence to his Majesty in regard to the forming the treaties and alliances necessary to the security of the protestant succession, and had offered up their lives and fortunes, and consequently the lives and fortunes of their constituents, to support the measures of the government.

THE

THE conduct of the two houses kept pace with their professions: in the malt-tax bill they inserted a clause of appropriation, empowering the King to apply such sums as should be necessary for defraying the expences and engagements which had been or should be made before the twenty-fifth of September, and in concerting such measures as he should think most conducive to the security of trade, and restoring the peace of Europe: and in addition to this unparliamentary manner of granting supplies, which, as no provision was made to call any person to account for the money which should be disposed of by virtue of this clause, effectually destroyed that necessary security which the wisdom of our ancestors had formed against misapplication: In addition, I say, my friend, to this unparliamentary, this dangerous, this destructive manner of granting supplies, they set the ruinous precedent of deviating from several votes and acts of parliament, by which the exceedings of the public funds were appropriated to the discharge of the national debt, or to the increase of the sinking fund, and granting the sum of three hundred and seventy thousand pounds, to be raised by loans and exchequer bills, and to be charged on the surplus of coal and culm, reserved for the parliament's disposal.

WHILST the representatives of the people were thus beggaring the nation, and wasting every means left to recover

LETTER V. the exhausted finances and the independence of the people,
 — hostilities were commenced against the dominions of Great-Britain, and the Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar on the eleventh day of February, seventeen hundred and twenty-seven: on the intelligence of this attack, a reinforcement was sent from England, under convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager, and Sir John Norris set sail with a powerful force for the Baltic, where he was joined by a Danish squadron: but, on the eve of a war which threatened to embroil all Europe for years, a sudden stop was put to the farther effusion of human blood, by the mediation of the King of France; it was conducted at Vienna by the Duke of Richlieu, the French ambassador; and at length all parties agreed to twelve preliminary articles, which were signed in May at Paris by the ministers of the Hanover alliance, and afterwards at Vienna by the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors. These preliminary articles imported,

That hostilities should immediately cease:

That the charter of the Ostend company should be suspended for seven years: and

That a congress should in four months be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle for adjusting all differences, and consolidating the peace of Europe.

KING:

KING George did not live either to enjoy or to interrupt LETTER V.
the general peace which these preliminary articles promised; he was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder, on the road from Holland to Hanover, the beloved seat of his German dominions, and was conveyed in a state of insensibility to Osnaburgh, where he expired on Sunday the eleventh of July, 1727, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

You know, my friend, that I have totally rejected the invidious task of giving characters: in the history of these modern times, I cannot submit to the drudgery of culling panegyric from addresses or birth-day odes; and other researches might lead me into dangerous paths. The medium of party undoubtedly viewed the political conduct of George the First as coloured by the prejudices of the eye through which it was surveyed; but whatever might be the virtues, vices, or errors of his political conduct, he was liked, and even loved by the individuals who had the honor of a familiar conversation with him, and was generally regarded by those who do not examine closely or critically into the nature of virtue and vice, or the motives and principles of human conduct, as a man who had an honest heart, and whose faults in his government, if there are any faults to be found, were entirely owing to the suggestions of a venal ministry, who, having

LETTER V. neither sufficient virtue, or sufficient understanding, to govern parties by the confidence which these great qualities give, their power and influence were solely grounded on corruption.

My narration, my friend, has furnished you with many proofs of the liberal, nay, the profuse manner with which every parliament gave away the money of the people.—George the First was almost always in war, or else entangled in expensive alliances. Bremen and Verden were bought, as I may say, with the sweat of the brow of the English subject: and though the nation was fifty millions in debt, the wretched people, who were regarded in no other light but as the means to raise money for the use of their betters, were almost every year saddled with the burthen of near seven millions; and the heavy taxes which produced this sum were carried through the two houses without any considerable opposition, except in the first parliament of this King's reign; yet such, were the prejudices of a Prince, who, I am told, governed his German dominions in so absolute a manner, that the miserable slaves of the principality are obliged to pay a tax to the government for every joint of meat they lay down to the fire. Such were the prejudices of this German Elector, that Lord Chesterfield informs us, that George the First was exceedingly hurt, even with the weak opposition he met with

with in parliament, on account of subsidies ; and could not **LETTER V.**
help complaining to his most intimate friends, that he was
come over to England to be a begging King; that is, that
he could not command without asking, and issue out man-
dates to raise arbitrary taxes by the royal authority singly.

L E T T E R VI.

LETTER VI.

THE policy, my friend, of securing the allegiance of the people, by putting them in the situation of creditors to the government, had so infected the minds of every administration, from the period of William's accession to the accession of George the Second, that to squander away as much money as could be procured from the lavish prodigality of dependent parliaments, was become the favorite manner in which every minister gave proof of his loyalty as a subject, and his abilities as a statesman; and it was at this period a favorite maxim with the courtiers, that the security of the protestant succession depended on the largeness of the national debt. In this political delirium, it is not a matter of surprize, that the system of œconomy adopted by the memorable Duke de Sully, was so far from prevailing in the times

times I am now writing on, that the national debt, at the accession of George the Second, was increased to the immense sum of upwards of fifty millions. With this grievance, which would have staggered the loyalty of every cavalier in the train of Charles the First, Great-Britain stood engaged to pecuniary subsidies to several powers on the Continent, with whom its interests were not in any manner connected. The wealth of the nation had been lavished upon, and its commerce sacrificed to the interest and the security of Hanover. Destructive encroachments had been made upon the constitution, by the repeal of the act for triennial parliaments, by frequent suspensions of the habeas corpus act upon unimportant occasions, by repealing the most salutary clauses in the act of settlement, by votes of credit, by the establishment of a large standing army, and by the introduction of such a regular system of corruption, as rendered the privileges of a parliament a dangerous burthen on the people, and put the liberties of the subject in a situation infinitely more precarious and insecure than they had ever been by the fixed or the encroached prerogatives of the crown. In short, such were the accumulated evils the nation had suffered, and such the injuries the constitution had sustained, from the several administrations of the three last preceding reigns, that those individuals of the society, who were sincerely attached to the welfare and the interests of their country,

LETTER VI.

LETTER VI. try, though diametrically opposite in their principles to the prejudices of jacobitism, began to think that another Revolution would be necessary, to put the empire in as good a situation as it was on the abdication of James the Second.

HOWEVER, my friend, Hope travels through, nor leaves us when we die; and you know the government of every new prince is always attended with the most flattering, the most extravagant expectations of better times: no sooner had George the Second received the intelligence of his father's death, than he repaired from Richmond to Leicester-House; the privy council were immediately assembled, and the next day he was proclaimed King in the usual forms: his Majesty took and subscribed the oath for the security of the church of Scotland, as required by the act of union, and declared his firm purpose to preserve the constitution in church and state: at the same time he avowed his intention to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with foreign princes; and to convince the people that no change of measures were immediately intended, all the great officers of state were continued in their places.

WHEN the demise of the late King was known, the parliament assembled, in pursuance of an act made for that purpose: they were immediately prorogued to the twenty-seventh day

day of June, when the King, in his speech to both Houses LETTER VI,
at the opening the session, professed a fixed resolution to merit the love and the affection of his people, by maintaining them in the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights: he promised to lessen the public expence, as soon as the circumstances of affairs would permit; and observed to the Commons, that the grant of the greatest part of the civil list revenue was now determined; and that it would be necessary for them to make a new provision for himself and his family.

If the patriot party in the House had formed any hopes on his Majesty's most gracious assurances, that a plan of oeconomy, adequate to the public exigencies, was really intended to be put in execution, great must be their disappointment when Sir Robert Walpole, who kept possession of his office of First Lord of the Treasury, observed, that the annual sum of seven hundred thousand pounds, granted to and settled on the late King, had fallen short every year, and that his present Majesty's expences were likely to increase, by reason of the largeness of his family.

In consequence of this observation, Sir Robert Walpole moved, that the entire revenues of the civil list, which pro-

LETTER VI. duced eight hundred thousand pounds, should be settled on his present Majesty during his life.

SHIPPEN, my friend, during the whole course of the last reign, in his station as representative of the people, had opposed, with great strength of argument and energy of expression, every motion and every manœuvre of the ministers, which was contrary to public welfare and security: but it was now that he was warmed into an indignation, which would have done honor to the Roman, Cato, when he harangued in the forum, and gave his voice against the pernicious laws proposed by seditious tribunes, for the purposes of party and the ruin of the commonwealth.

A COMPLIANCE with the motion, Mr. Shippen observed, would be inconsistent with the trust reposed in the parliament, as the representatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in the exercise of the right of giving away the public money. The sum of seven hundred thousand pounds, he said, was not obtained for his late Majesty without a long and solemn debate; and every member who contended for it at that time allowed it to be an ample royal revenue. It was to be hoped, that many personal, many particular expences in the late reign, especially those for frequent journeys to Hanover, would be discontinued, and entirely cease.

MR.

MR. SHIPPEN farther observed, that the civil list branches LETTER VI. in the Queen's reign did not often exceed the sum of five hundred and fifty thousand pounds, nevertheless she called upon her parliaments but once, in a reign of thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government, and these were occasioned by the unparalleled instances of her generosity. She gave the first fruits and tenths, arising to nineteen thousand pounds a year, as an augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy; she bestowed five thousand pounds per annum out of the post-office on the Duke of Marlborough; she suffered seven hundred pounds to be charged weekly on the same office, for the service of the public; she expended several hundred thousand pounds in building the castle of Blenheim; she allowed four thousand pounds annually to Prince Charles of Denmark; she sustained great losses by the tin contract; she supported the poor Palatines; she exhibited many other proofs of royal bounty; and immediately before her death would have reduced her yearly expences to four hundred and fifty-nine thousand nine hundred and forty pounds.

SHIPPEN affirmed, that a million a year would not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant expences, so often and so justly complained of in the house of Commons: that, over and above the yearly allowance of seven hundred thousand

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pounds,

LETTER VI. pounds, many occasional taxes, many excessive sums, were raised, and all sunk in the bottomless gulph of secret service: two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were raised, in defiance of the ancient parliamentary methods to secure the kingdom from a Swedish invasion: the two insurance offices were erected, and paid near three hundred thousand pounds for their charters: our enmity with Sweden being changed into an alliance, a subsidy of seventy-two thousand pounds was implicitly granted to fulfil some secret engagement with that crown: four and twenty thousand pounds were given for burning merchant ships arrived from infected places, though the goods, which ought to have been destroyed for the public safety, were afterwards privately sold: a sum of five hundred thousand pounds was demanded and granted for paying the debts of the civil list, and his Majesty declared by message, he was resolved to retrench his expences for the future; notwithstanding this resolution, in less than four years, a new demand of the like sum was made and granted to discharge new incumbrances: the Spanish ships of war which Admiral Byng took in the Mediterranean, were sold for a considerable sum of money: one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds were granted in the last session, to be secretly disposed of for the public utility; and there was still a debt in the civil government, amounting to above six hundred thousand pounds.

I HAVE,

I HAVE, my friend, related to you the substance of Mr. SHIPPEN'S long speech, because it contains a list of all the pecuniary grievances the nation suffered, and all the low tricks played by the ministry in the last reign; but it had so little effect on the callous disposition of the Commons, that no reply was made to Mr. Shippen's speech, nor to his proposal, that instead of granting an addition to the civil list, they should restrict that revenue to the yearly sum of seven hundred thousand pounds: the motion was agreed to by a large majority; a bill was brought in for the better support of his Majesty's household; and the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, together with his Majesty's palace of Somerset-house, and Richmond Old Park, were settled on her Majesty Queen Caroline, by way of jointure, in case she survived the King. This, my friend, was charged upon the revenues of the civil list, and it was double the sum which had been settled on any of the preceding Queen Consorts,—an addition which far surpassed the increased price of commodities, though that increase was large, and which you must allow was a dangerous and tremendous precedent, and at the same time a formidable symptom of the corrupt and dangerous lengths a venal parliament would go, in begging the nation to support the luxuries of the court.

It

LETTER VI. IT was at this period that all Europe was freed from the calamities of war, and the peace of Great-Britain neither suffered, or was likely to suffer, any interruption; yet this circumstance was so far from producing any alleviation to the oppressive burthens she had, with so much patience and long suffering, sustained, that the new parliament, which met on the twenty-third of January, 1727, on the pretence of some difficulties which had retarded the execution of the preliminaries of peace, voted two and twenty thousand nine hundred and fifty-five men for guards and garrisons, and fifteen thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year; granted two hundred and thirty thousand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds for the maintenance of twelve thousand Hessian troops; a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds to the King of Sweden, and half that sum to the Duke of Wolfembutte. The expence of the year amounted to four millions, raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, a malt tax, and by borrowing of the Bank one million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds: for the payment of this loan, annuities were granted to the amount of seventy thousand pounds, to be raised by duties on coals imported into the city of London. A petition was presented by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, setting forth, that the duties already laid upon coals and culm imported into London affected the trade of that city only; that

that the inequality of the burthen was a great discouragement to their manufactures, and an hardship upon all the trading inhabitants: and Mr. Pulteney observed, that the shifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day; that, notwithstanding the great merit which some persons had built on the sinking fund, it appeared that the national debt had been increased since the setting up that pompous project. This last observation was levelled at the prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole: a warm altercation ensued; but the Commons turned a deaf ear to the petition of the citizens, and the arguments of their member, and accompanied their large supply with a vote of credit, to fulfil, it was said, certain engagements entered into, and concerted with the advice and the concurrence of the last parliament, for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and for restoring and preserving the peace of Europe.

INDEED, my friend, the history of England is at this period so little entertaining, that it puzzles me how to arrange the annual revolution of the same unavailing arguments on the one side, and the same profligate venality on the other, in a manner as shall not render the detail of the abuses in our government as irksome in the reading as it is painful in the reflection.

LETTER VI. THE Parliament, as if they only met for the purpose of raising money, continued, without any decent pretext, to load the people with the same oppressive burthens which they had sustained during the heat of the war, notwithstanding the large addition which had been made to the civil list. On the motion of Mr. Scrope, member for Bristol, the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds was granted to the King, on the pretence of making up deficiencies, which were never proved : nay, it was asserted, that the civil list produced yearly a much greater sum than that for which it was given. The duties upon salt, a tax which was remarkably felt by the poor, was revived, in order to reduce the land tax to one shilling in the pound. The subsidies to Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and Wolfembuttel, were continued; and whilst the land and sea forces were kept up, merely for the purpose of creating a large number of dependants, our fleet lay inactive and rotting in the West-Indies, where the Spanish cruizers, encouraged by the timid conduct of the government, committed depredations with impunity on the commerce of Great-Britain.

THE Commons, instead of acting in their capacity of the grand inquisitors into public grievances, rejected petitions, for these and other abuses; and so little attentive were they to any of the good and useful purposes of representation, that
those

those laws which were judged necessary to restrain the growing vices of a corrupt commercial state, were drawn up with a negligence which totally defeated all the just ends of coercion: every new statute was followed with another, to clear up its obscurities and correct its deficiencies; and as the drawing up these statutes was committed to the care of the lawyers, without the attentive inspection and revival of the Commons, the ample volume of the law, instead of containing perspicuous and exact rules for the conduct of society, leaves those who are the most interested in its knowledge entirely in the dark, whilst it continues an inexhaustible source to supply food for the chicanery of its practitioners, and the vexatious prosecutions of the quarrelsome and the litigious.

LETTER VI.

EVERY law, my friend, relating to public or private property, and in particular penal statutes, ought to be rendered so clear and plain, and promulged in such a manner to the public, as to give a full information of its nature and contents to every citizen. Ignorance of laws, if not wilful, is a just excuse for their transgression; and if the care of the government does not extend to the proper education of the subject, and to their proper information on the nature of moral turpitude and legal crimes, and to the encouragement of virtue, with what face of justice can they punish delinquency? But if, on the contrary, the citizens, by the op-

LETTER VI. pression of heavy taxes, are rendered incapable, by the utmost exertion of honest industry, of bringing up or providing for a numerous family;—if every encouragement is given to licentiousness, for the purpose of amusing and debasing the minds of the people, or for raising a revenue on the vices of the subject;—is punishment in this case better than legal murder? Or, to use a strong, yet adequate expression, is it better than infernal tyranny?

WHILST the Commons were thus careless of all the just ends for which they were entrusted with their extensive privileges;—whilst seats in parliament were purchased at high prices, with a view of making the best penny of the public;—whilst the members of both houses were singly engaged in the business of raising money on the people, in order to exact a large share of the dividend;—it is no wonder that the only laws which could possibly restrain the abuses of representation, which could render the spirit of the constitution consistent with its forms, and fix dominion's limits to its end,—namely, laws to prevent pensioners from sitting in parliament, and to restore the people to their ancient salutary privileges, by shortening the duration of parliaments, should be rejected with disdain by a venal majority.

BEFORE

BEFORE I leave this subject, my friend, I must observe to LETTER VL
you, that Dr. Sherlock, bishop of Bangor, afterwards translated to Sarum, and then to London, made no scruple to argue avowedly in favor of that canker-worm in a state, that destroyer of every political constitution, that ruin to the morals of the people, Corruption, as a necessary part of administration; and declared, that an independent house of Commons, and an independent house of Lords, were as inconsistent with the English constitution as an independent or absolute King. This senseless assertion lies so open to conviction, since it is plain, if an independent house of Commons is inconsistent with our constitution that a dependent one is useless, expensive, dangerous, and burthensome, that it is not worth the making any observation upon it; only, that it proves to what a low state of depravity we were fallen, and how lost to every sense of what is just, fit, decent, and expedient, when one of the heads of the English church should venture to broach doctrines which would have scandalized every Pagan priest in the corruptest state of idolatry.

SUFFER me to indulge my fancy for once, my friend, tho' I am writing on a serious subject. Methinks I hear you say, What was become of the voice of the people? Is it possible, that before their necks were quite bowed to the yoke, by repeated ineffectual exertions, by painful executions, and

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frightful

LETTER VI. frightful examples of suffering patriotism;—is it possible, that the voice of the people, under such insulting injuries, should not have risen into a thunder which would have shaken the two houses of parliament, and by the operation of fear have produced that reformation in the conduct of their government, which neither reason nor duty could have effected?—Why truly, my friend, in answer to these interrogations, I must inform you, that the people at this time were, as the people of Great-Britain always are, half stupid, half drunk, and half asleep: they tamely suffered all these insults with a patience which, in a good cause, would have done honor to the primitive saints of the Christian church: nay more, under the whig banners, the churchmen and the dissenters of all denominations united their efforts to establish and secure the best of all possible governments, and to hand down the invaluable blessing of being bought and sold to the latest posterity. However, as all sublunary happiness must ever be in a fluctuating state, the people were at length, by great art and management, roused to a ferment; and this, as is always the case, on a subject in which their interest was no ways concerned; and the minister was defeated in the only salutary measure he had ever proposed to the consideration of parliament.

It is the opinion of Davenant, that master of all subjects LETTER VI.
which concern the welfare of commercial states, that excises
are the most proper ways and means to support the govern-
ment in a long war, because they would lie equally on the
whole body of the people, and produce great sums, propor-
tionable to the great wants of the public. Agreeable to this
idea, my friend, the prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole, on
the pretence of preventing frauds, perjuries, and false entries,
in the levying the customs, in the year 1733 proposed that a
partial excise on tobacco should be levied: in this proposition
he joined the laws of the customs with those of the excise,
namely, that the farther subsidy of three farthings per pound
charged upon imported tobacco should be still levied at the
custom-house, and payable to his Majesty's civil list; that then
the tobacco should be lodged in warehouses to be appointed
for that purpose by the commissioners of the excise; that the
keeper of each warehouse, appointed likewise by the com-
missioners, should have one lock and key, and the merchant
importer another; and that the tobacco should be thus se-
cured until the merchant should find vent for it, either by
exportation or home consumption; that the part designed for
exportation should be weighed at the custom-house, dis-
charged of the three farthings per pound which had been
paid at its first importation, and then exported without fur-
ther trouble; that the portion destined for home consumption
should,

LETTER VI. should, in presence of the warehouse-keeper, be delivered to the purchaser upon his paying the inland duty of four-pence per pound weight to the proper officer appointed to receive it, by which means the merchant would be eased of the inconvenience of paying the duty upon importation, or of granting bonds, and finding sureties for the payment before he had found a market for the commodity; that all penalties and forfeitures, so far as they formerly belonged to the crown, should for the future be applied to the use of the public; that appeals in this, as well as in all other cases relating to the excise, should be heard and determined by two or three of the judges to be named by his Majesty, and in the country by the judge of assize upon the next circuit, who should hear and determine such appeals in the most summary way, without the formality of proceedings in courts of law or equity.

THOUGH Sir Robert Walpole's scheme, my friend, was defective in the grand point, which renders even an excise detestable in this country, namely, the discharging that train of dependents and leeches which help to suck the vitals of the commonwealth, the custom-house officers, yet the opposition did not think fit to attack him on this defect, or to propose any amendment which might tend to relieve the constitution from a set of dependents which are more than sufficient to render

render ineffectual all the bars against prerogative. That it would introduce a general excise was the cry of the country party; and the nation, though they had sat easy under innovations which gave up their power and their fortunes to the disposal of the crown and its dependants, took the alarm,—an alarm which was attended with such a ferment, that though the minister carried his point with the Commons by a majority of sixty-one voices, he was obliged to wave the advantage, and give up his triumph to the almost united voice of the people, who threatened him with the executing justice on his person in the rough way of popular coercion. LETTER VI.

THUS the people, exerting with success their natural rights on a subject of little importance to the welfare of the community, left the lovers of mankind the melancholy sensation of bitterly regretting their unpardonable supineness on points in which the welfare of the constitution, and the freedom and the opulence of their posterity, were deeply interested. But before I leave this subject, it will be necessary to expose the wicked and false policy of the minister in the important subjects of taxation and the national debt, and to shew the injudicious conduct of the landed gentlemen, who, on the motives of ill-understood self-interest, have loaded themselves and the public with burthens, which hardly leave them the enjoyment of five shillings in the pound out of the income of their estates.

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LETTER VI.

IN the year 1737, my friend, the House having resolved itself into a committee to consider of the national debt, that worthy citizen and steady patriot, Sir John Barnard, made the following judicious motion: That the King should be enabled to raise money, either by the sale of annuities, or by borrowing at an interest not exceeding three per cent; which sum so raised should be applied towards the redeeming the South-Sea annuities; and that such of the said annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective annuities should be preferred to all others. Sir John Barnard asserted, that even those public securities which bore an interest of three per cent only, were sold at a premium in 'Change-alley; "Therefore," said Sir John Barnard, "I am persuaded that
"all those who are willing to give a premium for a three
"per cent security, will gladly lend their money to the go-
"vernment on the same interest, should books of subscription
"be opened for that purpose, with an assurance that no part
"of the principal shall be paid off in fourteen years." Sir John Barnard proceeded to expatiate upon the national advantages which would accrue from the reduction of interest: from easy and obvious calculations he inferred, that in a very short time the interest upon all the South-sea annuities would be reduced from four to three per cent, without any danger to public credit, or breach of public faith; that then the produce of the sinking fund would amount to fourteen hundred

dred thousand pounds per annum, to be applied only towards LETTER VI. redeeming the capital of the several trading companies; this measure would bring every one of them so much within the power of parliament, that they would be glad to accept of three per cent. interest on any reasonable terms; in which case the sinking fund would rise to one million six hundred thousand pounds per annum; then the parliament might venture to annihilate one half of it, by freeing the people from the taxes upon coals, candles, soap, leather, and other such impositions as lay heavy upon the poor laborers and manufacturers; the remaining part of the sinking fund might be applied towards the discharge of those annuities and public debts which bore an interest of three per cent. only, and afterwards towards diminishing the capitals of the several trading companies, till the term of fourteen years should be expired; then the sinking fund would again amount to above a million yearly, which would be sufficient for the paying them off, and freeing the nation entirely from all its incumbrances.

THE effectual opposition, my friend, which the ministry gave to this salutary scheme, shewed so plainly to men of common discernment that the nation was to be beggared in order to be enslaved, that one cannot help being surpris'd that a minister, who had just escaped the vengeance of popular

LETTER VI, resentment for endeavoring to introduce an excise, would venture to deprive the nation of the benefit which must arise from adopting the motion. Sir Robert Walpole, my friend, was well acquainted with the blindness of the nation to every circumstance which regarded their true interest; a blindness so general as to lead the gentlemen of landed estates into the error of rejecting every mode of taxation which could be levied on the subject at a small expence, because it carried the face of taxing themselves; though it is plain, (unless the balance of trade is very much in favor of a country, which has not been the case with England for many years, and never can be the case when trade is over-taxed, and, consequently, the commodities and necessaries of life very dear,) that every tax must ultimately fall on the land; and that the manner of raising our taxes, by laying them on every article of trade, robs the men of landed estates of three shillings in the pound, instead of one, both on account of the expensive manner of levying such taxes, and that the dealer in these articles raises his price on the public, not in proportion to the advanced taxation, but to double and sometimes treble the advancement. Thus the men of landed estates become the dupes to their own selfishness, and load the public with burthens which the nature of our constitution and the lax state of our laws in these circumstances render inevitable, and
which

which no society in the highest climax of their prosperity LETTER VI. can long sustain.

BEFORE I end the history of the conduct of this session, my friend, I must inform you, that the minister was successful in an oblique attack on the liberty of the press, which ended in a very important restraint on the privilege of literary composition.

THE manager of a playhouse communicated to Sir Robert Walpole a farce, which, in all probability, was written on purpose to afford the pretence the minister wanted: it was called "The Golden Rump," was presented to the stage for exhibition, and, it is said, was fraught with treason and abuse against the government; however, it afforded the minister a pretence to descant largely upon the insolence, the malice, the seditious calumny, which had been published through the medium of stage exhibitions to the people; and the great business of administration seems at this time to have been a sedulous endeavor to debauch in every sense the manners of the whole nation: he descanted also on the immorality which had been of late propagated in theatrical pieces.

LET those, my friend, whose public conduct will bear the test of the strictest examination, plead for the licence of wri-

LETTER VI. ting and speaking freely. It was at this time as much the business of the house of Commons, as it was the business of administration, to abridge the liberty of public exhibition; and notwithstanding Lord Chesterfield exerted himself in its favor, in a very strong and elegant speech, a bill was brought in to limit the number of playhouses, to subject all dramatic writers to the inspection of the Lord Chamberlain, and to compel them to take out a licence for every production before it could appear. Thus, according to the present state of dramatic exhibitions, the playhouse is a vehicle for all the fulsome flattery which the servile and the indigent load on men in power; and the people are denied the useful privilege of seeing the public vices and misdemeanors of men in office exposed to ridicule and censure, and that in a manner which, more effectually than any other, strikes conviction to vulgar conception.

THOUGH the King, in the year 1729, in a speech from the throne, had assured the two Houses that the peace of Europe was established by the treaty of Seville, built upon the foundation of former treaties, and tending to render more effectual what the contracting powers in the quadruple alliance had before engaged to see performed; also, that all former conventions made with Spain, in favor of the British trade and navigation, were renewed and confirmed; that the
free,

free, uninterrupted exercise of their commerce was restored; LETTER VI.
that the court of Spain had agreed to an ample restitution and
reparation for unlawful seizures and depredations; that all
rights, privileges, and possessions belonging to him and his
allies were solemnly established, confirmed, and guaranteed;
and that not one concession was made to the prejudice of his
subjects: yet, my friend, the treaty did not meet with the
unanimous approbation of the two houses. An article, by
which the merchants of Great-Britain were obliged to make
proof of their losses at the court of Spain, was objected to,
as an hardship upon British subjects, and dishonorable to the
nation: few, it was said, would undertake such a trouble-
some and expensive voyage, especially as they had reason to
apprehend their claims would be counterbalanced by the
Spaniards.

THE opposition animadverted very severely on Great-Bri-
tain being bound to ratify and guaranty whatever agreement
should be made between the King of Spain and the Dukes
of Parma and Tuscany, concerning the garrisons once estab-
lished in their countries; that the English should be obliged
to assist in effectuating the introduction of six thousand Spa-
nish troops into the towns of Tuscany and Parma, without
any specification of the methods to be taken, or the charge
to be incurred in giving that assistance; that they should
guaranty

LETTER VI. guaranty for ever, not only to Don Carlos, but even to all his successors, the possession of the estates of Tuscany and Parma,—a stipulation which, in all probability, would involve Great-Britain in endless troubles and disputes about a country, with which they had no concern. They affirmed, that the treaty of Seville, instead of confirming other treaties, was contradictory to the quadruple alliance, particularly in the article of introducing Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma, in the room of neutral forces, stipulated by the former alliance. It was found that these alterations, from the tenor of the grand alliance, were made without the concurrence of the Emperor, and even without inviting him to accede;—an affront which, it was said, might alienate his friendship from England, and hazard the loss of such an ancient, powerful, and faithful ally; and that throughout the whole treaty there seemed to be an artful omission of any express stipulation secure to Great-Britain in her right to Gibraltar and Minorca. Motions on all these articles of complaint were made by the opposition, but they were rejected by the majority, who resolved, that the treaty did contain all necessary stipulations for maintaining and securing the honor, dignity, rights, and possessions of the crown; that all due care was taken therein for the support of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the losses sustained by the British merchants.

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LETTER VI.
It had been long, my friend, halcyon days with ministers and their dependents. An address of approbation, founded on these resolutions, was sent up to the throne; and the minister was triumphant in contests on the mutiny bill, the pension bill, the maintenance of twelve thousand Hessians, and the fixing the burthen of eighteen thousand men for the service of the ensuing year.

Mr. Shippen affirmed, that Mr. Pelham's motion for eighteen thousand effective men was a flat negative to the address, for which he voted on the first day of the session, as it plainly implied a distrust of the validity of the late treaty, which he then assured the House would immediately produce all the blessings of an absolute peace, and deliver the kingdom from the apprehensions and inconveniences of a war.——Oh, Shame! where is thy blush?——Indeed, my friend, I know not where;—but I believe it has not been found in either of the two Houses of Parliament for this century past.

WHEN the two Houses met in the succeeding winter, they were assured by the King, that the general tranquility of Europe was now restored and established: but this circumstance did not prevent the ministry from asking, or the parliament from granting, to the terror of the friends of freedom,

LETTER VI. dom, and the expence of the subjects at large, the same number of standing forces which had been allowed in times of danger and war : but neither these precautions, as they were pretended to be, or the boasted general state of tranquility, prevented the Spaniards in America from insulting and distressing the commerce of Great-Britain. They disputed the right of English traders to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and gather salt on the island of Tortugas ; a right which, by implication, had been acknowledged in all the treaties which had been lately concluded between the two nations. The captains of their armed vessels, known by the name of guarda costas, had made a practice of boarding and plundering British ships, on pretence of searching for contraband commodities ; some of their ships of war attacked a fleet of English merchant ships at the island of Tortugas ; a great number of British vessels were seized and detained, their crews imprisoned, and their cargoes confiscated : these affronts, these violations of public faith, were heightened with acts of insolence and cruelty ; and this to such an excess of insult, that one of the Spanish pirates, having cut or torn off the ear of Captain Jenkins, he bade him carry it to his King, and to tell him, that the Spaniards would serve him in the same manner, should an opportunity offer. Repeated memorials were in vain presented to the court of Spain by the British ambassador at Madrid : the Spaniards, encouraged
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by the apparent timidity of the English minister, persisted in these depredations; and the court of Madrid, to amuse the English ambassador with evasive answers, vague promises of enquiry, and cédulas of instructions sent to the Spanish governors in America; to which, according to orders in a different stile, they paid no regard. LETTER VI.

THE merchants of England were not so well satisfied as was their government with the conduct of Spain, and loudly complained of the Spaniards' outrages: their complaints began to rouse, as from a dead sleep, the lethargic spirit of the nation. When the parliament met, petitions were delivered to the Lower House from different parts of the kingdom; they were referred to a committee of the whole house: an order was made to admit the petitioners, if they should think fit, to be heard by themselves, or their council. Sir John Barnard moved for an address to the King, that all the memorials and papers relating to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the House; and he was so well seconded by the opposition, who made the best advantage of the temper of the times, that Sir Robert Walpole was obliged to comply, and an address on the subject was actually presented. On the examination of evidence before the House, in a grand committee, it appeared that acts of wanton cruelty and injustice had been perpetrated by the Spaniards on the subjects

LETTER VI. of Great-Britain: vigorous resolutions were proposed to the House by Mr. Pulteney; and these proposals were accompanied with undeniable proofs of breaches of treaty on the side of Spain.

IT was not yet the time, my friend, for a minister to call for the question on an interesting and important subject of debate, without the designing to give any answer, either to matter of fact related, or argument urged: the nation could not at this time bear that *sang froid*, that assured confidence in the powers of corruption, with which we have heard of ministers who have delivered out their mandates to an hireling parliament: no; Mr. Pulteney was warmly combated by Sir Robert Walpole, who affirmed, that the proposed resolutions would cramp the ministers in their endeavors to compromise the difference between the two nations; that they would frustrate their negotiations, intrench upon the King's prerogative, and precipitate the nation into an unnecessary and expensive war. Sir Robert Walpole's arguments did not produce an immediate compliance; a resolution, agreeable to Mr. Pulteney's proposals, was reported, but the question being put for re-committing it, it was carried in the negative; and the House agreed to a tame address, in which they besought his Majesty to use his endeavors to obtain an effectual relief for his injured subjects; to convince

vince the court of Spain that his Majesty could no longer LETTER VI. suffer such constant and repeated insults and injuries to be carried on, to the dishonor of his crown, and the ruin of his trading subjects; and assuring him, that in case his royal and friendly instances with the Catholic King should miscarry, the House would effectually support his Majesty in the taking such measures as honor and justice should make it necessary for him to pursue.

IN an unavailing debate in the Upper House, for reducing the standing army, Lord Carteret observed, that before the Revolution the people of England did not raise above two millions for the whole of the public charge; but now, what was called the current expence, for which the parliament annually provided, exceeded that sum; and the civil list, the interest due to the public creditors, and the sinking fund, added together, composed a burthen of six millions yearly. Lord Chesterfield, on the same side of the question, asserted, that at the accession of the late King, the army did not exceed six thousand; that it soon amounted to double that number, and had since been augmented, on various pretences, to eighteen thousand.

MILITARY operations were not the forte of the present minister: there were no laurels to be gained for Sir Robert

LETTER VI. Walpole in the field; and it was for this reason that the expence and the uncertainty of war was as much shunned, as it had been assiduouſly courted during the first years of Queen Anne's reign. Pusillanimity in the councils and conduct of princes and states is undoubtedly as censurable as rashness, temerity, and an obstinate continuation of the expence and terrors of war. Unfortunately for this country, both the one and the other have always been carried to extremes, because they have always been founded in selfishness; but which has been most prejudicial to the common weal, I shall not, my friend, at this time attempt to determine.

DURING the interval between the last and the succeeding sessions of parliament, the ministry were busily employed in the endeavors to avoid a rupture with the court of Madrid; and the King, in his speech from the throne on the first day of February, 1738, gave the two Houses to understand, that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the King of Spain, who had obliged himself to make reparation to the British subjects for their losses, by certain stipulated payments; that plenipotentiaries were named and appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all those grievances and abuses which had hitherto interrupted the commerce of Great-Britain in the American seas, and for settling mat-
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ters of dispute in such a manner as might, for the future, prevent and remove all new causes and pretences of complaint. LETTER VI.

SIR Robert Walpole extolled the convention, as a circumstance attended with all the advantage which successful arms could procure: future ages, he said, would consider this as the most glorious period of our history, and do justice to the councils which produced the happy event. But notwithstanding the minister's eulogium, when the convention itself was presented to the Commons, and published for the information of the public, it was so highly resented by the merchants, and strenuously combated by the opposition, that Sir Robert Walpole, in exerting his whole strength, carried an address of approbation to the throne, by a majority of twenty-eight only.

MR. William Pitt, a young member of such expectation as to bid fair to unite in his oratorical powers the fire of Demosthenes with the eloquence of Cicero, had declaimed against the convention, as insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonorable to Great-Britain: the great national objection, he said, the searching of British ships, stood in the preamble of the convention as the reproach of the whole, as the strongest evidence of the fatal submission which followed: on the part
of

LETTER VI. Spain, an usurpation, an inhuman tyranny, claimed and exercised over the American seas; on the part of England, an undoubted right by treaties, and from God and Nature, declared and asserted in the resolutions of parliament, were now referred to the discussion of plenipotentiaries; on the same equal footing this undoubted right was to be discussed and regulated; and if to regulate be to prescribe rules in all constructions, it must be, that that right was by the express words of the convention to be given up and sacrificed; for it must cease to be any thing from the moment it was submitted to limitation.

LORD Gage, another member of the lower house, asserted, that the losses sustained by the Spanish depredations amounted to three hundred and forty thousand pounds; that the Commissary, by a stroke of his pen, reduced this demand to two hundred thousand pounds; then forty-five thousand was struck off for prompt payment; sixty thousand pounds were allotted as the remaining part of a debt pretended to be due to Spain for the destruction of her fleet by Sir George Byng, though it appeared by the instructions on the table that Spain had been already amply satisfied on this head: these deductions had reduced the balance to ninety-five thousand pounds, for which the King of Spain insisted upon the South-Sea Company's paying immediately the sum of sixty-eight thousand

land pounds, as a debt due to him on one head of accounts, LETTER VI.
though in other articles his Catholic Majesty was indebted to
the Company a million over and above this demand: the re-
mainder to be paid by Spain did not exceed seven and twenty
thousand pounds; from which he insisted on deducting what-
ever she might already have given in satisfaction for any of
the British ships which had been taken, and on being allowed
the value of the St. Theresa, a Spanish ship, which had been
seized in the port of Dublin.

HAD you not been a cotemporary with these times, my
friend, you would perhaps have been surprised that even a
venal parliament should have refused to listen to matters of
fact of equal importance, as related in the above speeches:
it was however at this period a very hard-won triumph to
the ministry; the larger body of the people were in their
sentiments entirely on the side of the opposition; the most
eminent members of the minority seceded from parliament;
the contest with government was as hot in the Upper
House as it had been among the Commons, where the mini-
ster was pushed so hard by Lord Carteret, as to be under the
necessity of producing the copy of a declaration made by the
King of Spain, before he ratified the convention, signifying,
that his Catholic Majesty reserved to himself, in its full force,
the right of being able to suspend the affiento of negroes, in
case

LETTER VI. case the Company should not pay, within a short time, the sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds sterling owing to Spain on the duty of negroes, or on the profit of the ship *Caroline*; that under the validity and force of this protest, the signing of the said convention might be proceeded on, and in no other manner. Besides the vast superiority of the argument, my friend, all the chief speakers were on the side of the opposition; it was with very great difficulty the minister stood his ground; and, on account of a family quarrel, at the head of those who voted against an address of approbation was the Prince of Wales, whose servants had all joined the opposition in the Lower House; and his Royal Highness had sat in the gallery during the whole course of the debates.

To a nation loaded with debt, as England was at this period, a bad, and even a shameful treaty of peace, made on the plan of œconomy, might find many advocates among the independent members of the society; but this was so far from the case in question, that the addresses of approbation of the terms of the convention from the two Houses of Parliament were followed by the passing a subsidy treaty, by which the government obliged itself to pay to the King of Denmark seventy thousand pounds per annum, on the condition of furnishing to his Britannic Majesty a body of six thousand men,

men, when demanded: at the same time the ministry obtained a vote of credit, to enable them to raise what money and troops the exigency of affairs, during the recess of parliament, might require. LETTER VI.

THESE, my friend, were strong proofs indeed of the implicit obedience of the majority: it appeared plainly that the body of Danes were retained solely for the defence and the protection of Hanover; for it was stipulated in the treaty that they were not to be used either in Italy or on board the fleet, or to be transported in whole or in part beyond sea after they should have marched out of the territories of Denmark. General votes of credit were never heard of before a regular system of corruption had taken place with the Revolution: it was a demand which, in the worst times, would have been heard with amazement, and rejected with anger. But it was now become almost as frequent as the message for raising the ordinary supplies; and there is only one instance where the ministry found any great difficulty on the obtaining it.

THE very anxious desire which the English government had shewn for peace had set that blessing for the present far out of their reach. The court of Spain, encouraged by the pusillanimity of England, neglected the payment of the sum

LETTER VI. stipulated by the convention : letters of marque and reprisal were now granted against Spain ; a large fleet was assembled at Spithead ; a reinforcement sent out under Admiral Haddock ; the land troops were augmented ; and an embargo was laid on all merchant ships outward-bound.

THE voice of the public in a manner extorted these preparations from the minister ; however, he continued to hold the olive-branch in his hand : and Keene, the British minister at Madrid, was directed to declare to the court of Spain, that his master, although he had permitted his subjects to make reprisals, would not be understood to have broken the peace ; and that this permission would be recalled as soon as his Majesty should be disposed to make the satisfaction which had been so justly demanded. But this was very far from the intention of the court of Spain : Keene was given to understand, that the King of Spain looked upon these reprisals as acts of hostility, and that he hoped, with the assistance of heaven and his allies, he should be enabled to support a good cause against his adversaries. This hostile declaration was followed by a manifesto, in which the King of Spain justified his conduct, and complained of the necessary preparations which had been taken by the court of England ; and, to the terror of the administration, the French ambassador at the Hague declared, that the King, his master,

was

was obliged by treaties to assist his Catholic Majesty by sea and land, in case of an attack; at the same time, he prevailed on the States-General to give him an assurance that they would observe, to the utmost of their power, a strict neutrality, though they could not avoid furnishing his Britannic Majesty with such succours as he could demand by virtue of the treaties subsisting between the two powers. LETTER VI.

WAR was denounced against Spain on the twenty-third day of October, 1739; his Catholic Majesty having previously ordered all the British ships in his harbours to be seized and detained. This seeming alertness in the Spaniards was ill seconded by military operation; it would appear that this haughty, insolent nation had flattered itself that England would buy peace on any terms; for so little were they prepared to withstand any vigorous attack, that Admiral Vernon having boasted in the House of Commons that he would take Porto Bello, a Spanish town on the isthmus of Darien, with six ships only, was taken at his word by the English government, and actually performed this venturous service; and the Spaniards had the pusillanimity to suffer their town to be taken, and their forts demolished, almost without bloodshed.

ON the declaration of the war with Spain, the seceding members had resumed their seats in the House of Commons:

LETTER VI. they were foiled in several motions they made for an enquiry into the conduct of those who concluded the convention. A pension bill also, after having been suffered to make its way through the Lower House, was lost among the Lords; nor [did the ministry suffer any defeat, except in a bill they had prepared for reducing seamen, watermen, fishermen, and lightermen, to a state of abject slavery.

ON the arrival of the news of the reduction of Porto Bello, both Houses were in a manner unanimous in lavish grants to the crown: they provided for twenty-eight thousand land-forces, besides six thousand marines; they provided for the equipment of a very powerful navy; they voted the subsidy to the King of Denmark; and they provided for the defraying certain extraordinary expences which were not specified in the estimates. The provision for the war during the course of the ensuing year amounted, my friend, to four millions. To answer these extraordinary supplies, a land tax of four shillings in the pound was imposed; and his Majesty was moreover enabled to deduct twelve hundred thousand pounds from the sacred deposit of the sinking fund.

THOUGH the seat of war at this juncture lay in the West-Indies, yet the German Princes were, as usual, called in to the assistance of England. By a treaty concluded in August

1740,

1740, the Landgrave of Hesse, who had married one of the King's daughters, engaged to furnish a body of six thousand men, for four years, in consideration of an annual subsidy of two hundred and fifty thousand crowns. LETTER VI.

As I observed to you before, my friend, the conduct of a war was not the sphere of action in which the genius of Sir Robert Walpole shone. Military preparations were carried on at a great expence; yet, either from plans injudiciously formed, from an improper choice of commanders, from accident, from ignorance, from corruption, or from the want of attention, almost every attempt to annoy the enemy failed.

THE ministry were disappointed in the seizing the Spanish treasure brought every year from the West-Indies: the design of acting against the enemy on the coast of Chili and Peru, and co-operating occasionally with Admiral Vernon across the isthmus of Darien, proved abortive by the reason of unnecessary delays and unforeseen accidents: in short, expensive squadrons were equipped, without one effectual or even successful event. Admiral Vernon, the only commander who had acted up to the reputation of the British arms, complained that he was neglected, and in danger of being sacrificed; and the merchants made loud clamors on the loss of their ships taken by the Spanish privateers with impunity.

IT

LETTER VI. IT was now, my friend, that the opposition were, by the almost universal voice of the people, encouraged to take vigorous steps against the minister in parliament.

MR. Sandys, the mouth of the party, after a previous intimation to Sir Robert Walpole in person, entered into a long deduction of that minister's conduct, and concluded his speech with a motion for an address to the King, that he would be pleased to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever.

MR. Pelham got up to answer Mr. Sandys; and attempted to vindicate the minister's conduct, by pleading the sanction of a corrupt majority in the two Houses of Parliament for every error and misdemeanor laid to his charge: but that part of his speech, in which he denied the heinous charge of corruption and undue influence, is so very curious a piece of sophistry, that I shall do the speaker injustice if I attempt to relate it in other than his own words:

“ I SHALL grant,” says Mr. Pelham, “ that the turning
“ a gentleman out of his post in the service of the crown,
“ for voting according to his conscience in parliament, or
“ for opposing any court measure, he could not approve,
“ would be a very wrong and dangerous exercise of the prerogative

“ rogative of the crown. But at the same time I must take LETTER VI.
“ notice, that an opposition in parliament may be such as
“ will afford a just and legal reason for turning the opposer
“ out of the service of the crown, when it is indiscreetly or
“ indecently carried on, or when the opposition proceeds not
“ from honor and conscience, but from mere resentment,
“ because the gentleman has met with a denial in some suit
“ which his Majesty did not think fit to grant. In either
“ of these cases, even a man’s behaving or voting in par-
“ liament will be a good reason for dismissing him from the
“ service of the crown. Besides these, a gentleman may be
“ guilty of several sort of offences, no way relating to his
“ behavior in parliament, which highly deserve a dismissal
“ from the King’s service; and though his Majesty inflicts
“ the punishment, he may, from his natural tenderness, and
“ in pure charity to the offender, be prevailed on not to
“ publish or declare the offence. Therefore, when a mem-
“ ber of parliament is dismissed the service of the crown,
“ though his Majesty does not think fit to declare the of-
“ fence, it is a breach of charity in us, and a failure in our
“ duty to our Sovereign, to suppose, that his Majesty dis-
“ missed him for no other reason but for pursuing the dic-
“ tates of his honor and duty in parliament.

“ Now,

LETTER VI. “ Now, Sir, with regard to the pretended confession, or
 “ declaration, which has been represented as such a heinous
 “ crime, suppose the honorable gentleman had made use of
 “ the very words which have been mentioned, we ought not
 “ to take them in a wrong sense, if they will bear a good
 “ one: and, therefore, we ought to suppose that he meant,
 “ by opposing a minister’s measures in parliament, not an
 “ opposition which proceeded from a conviction of their
 “ being wrong, but an opposition which proceeded from
 “ mere resentment, from a factious spirit, or from a secret
 “ design to compel the King to comply with some unrea-
 “ sonable request; and in either of these cases, he would be
 “ a pitiful fellow of a minister if he did not advise the King
 “ to dismiss from his service a man who made such an un-
 “ worthy use of his seat in either House of Parliament.”

IN making the interested person a judge in his own case, my friend, the minister was not only vindicated, but the right of undue influence absolutely asserted by Mr. Pelham; his assertions and his arguments, if there are any to be found in his speech, were fully answered by Sir John Barnard, who was ably seconded by Mr. Pulteney.

THE balance of power, that ignis fatuus which has cost this nation so many millions; that argument urged by every minister,

minister, as an excuse for destructive measures and lavish expences; has been almost overturned by the interested or bungling policy in every reign. Queen Anne, at the expence of millions, had almost given the balance into the hands of the house of Austria; in the two last reigns, it turned in favor of the house of Bourbon. LETTER VI.

Mr. Pulteney, either following the dictates of party, or in order to cast a blacker shade on the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole, applauded the measures of Queen Anne's ministry in favor of the house of Austria; but, with a great deal more truth and justice, he exposed the interested treaties made in the two last reigns; and, by the following observation, shewed how very much the dupes we were to every power which had the good fortune to be in our alliance. " France, says " he, got us to chastise the court of Spain, for daring to " take any measures contrary to her interest; and then she " made a merit at that court of her having prevented us " from doing any mischief to them, notwithstanding their " having declared war against us, and openly attacked our " town of Gibraltar. By this means, she laid a foundation " for getting herself reconciled with the court of Spain, and " by means of that reconciliation, and her influence upon " our ministry, she accomplished the other point she had in
VOL. I. F f f " view,

LETTER VI. “ view, which was, to create a new breach between the
“ courts of Vienna and Madrid.

“ As by this treaty, continued Mr. Pulteney, we were
“ brought upon the brink of being forced to enter into a
“ war, in conjunction with France and Spain, against the
“ Emperor, the whole nation began to take the alarm, so
“ that our minister was obliged to consult his own safety;
“ and this drove him precipitately into the guaranty of the
“ pragmatic sanction, in order to prevail upon the Emperor
“ to admit the introduction of Spanish troops into the strong
“ places of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia. The treaty of
“ Seville being, by this dangerous and rash step, fully exe-
“ cuted on our part, it was natural to expect a full perform-
“ ance on the part of Spain; but France having now by
“ our means recovered her influence with the court of Spain,
“ and it being highly advantageous for the trade of France
“ to have disputes always subsisting between us and Spain,
“ France took care that Spain should perform nothing of
“ what had been promised on her part by the treaty of Se-
“ ville; except, I think, the restitution of the ship Frede-
“ rick, and perhaps some of the other ships which had been
“ seized in the ports of Spain at the beginning of the rup-
“ ture: as to all our other demands, they remained unad-
“ justed. The term for adjusting them by commissaries
“ expired;

“ expired ; that term was again and again renewed ; and in LETTER VI.
“ the mean time the Spaniards exercised the right they had
“ set up of searching our ships in the American seas, and
“ seizing such of them as had any goods on board which
“ they were pleased to call contraband ; by this, daily de-
“ predations were committed upon our merchants in the
“ West-Indies ; daily complaints were made to our minister
“ here ; and thus affairs stood when France, in conjunction
“ with Spain and Sardinia, thought fit to attack the Emperor
“ in the year 1733, with an avowed design to strip him of
“ all his dominions in Italy.

“ IN the beginning of the late reign, Mr. Speaker, the
“ power of the house of Austria was thought too weak,
“ without the addition of Sicily to their other Italian domi-
“ nions. A minister had been impeached for leaving that
“ house in such a weak condition, by the treaty of Utrecht.
“ We had procured him Sicily, at the expence of a war
“ with Spain, because, without that addition, the balance
“ of power in Europe, it was thought, could not be se-
“ cured ; we had therefore three reasons for joining with the
“ Emperor in this new war ; one, founded upon the general
“ interest of Europe, because the balance of power would
“ be overturned should the Emperor be stripped of his Ita-
“ lian dominions ; a second, founded upon our own honor,

LETTER VI. “ because we had but two years before guarantied the pragmatic sanction, by which the Emperor was induced to admit of the introduction of Spanish troops into Italy, which troops were now employed in attacking him; and a third, founded upon our particular interest, because we could not otherwise expect to obtain satisfaction or security from Spain. These, Sir, were weighty considerations; but the plan of politics our minister had laid down prevailed over all these; and we continued idle, though not unexpective spectators, till the power of the house of Austria was diminished by the loss of Naples and Sicily, and the power of France increased by the accession of Lorrain.

“ On the domestic politics of the minister,” Mr. Pulteney observed, that “ upon his first accession to the direction of the public affairs, the nation was in a fair way of being able to pay off every shilling of the public debt, that the South-Sea scheme, by its being wickedly conducted, had indeed ruined many private men; but it was of singular use, and might have been made of much greater service to the public; our irredeemable was thereby made redeemable; the interest payable on most of our public debts was to be reduced in a few years from five to four per cent; and the South-Sea Company were obliged to pay off seven millions of our debts at once, by sinking
“ a part

“ a part of their capital: by these means the sinking fund LETTER VI.
“ would have been so much increased, that if it had been
“ religiously applied, our public debts might have been by
“ this time almost entirely discharged, and all our grievous
“ taxes abolished: but this” added Mr. Pulteney, “ would
“ have very much lessened the minister’s fund for corrup-
“ tion, by demolishing many posts and places which he has
“ at his disposal; and therefore, according to his plan, the
“ effect was by all means to be prevented; the public charge
“ was to be yearly increased, in order to oblige us to apply
“ the sinking fund to the current service, or to run as much
“ in debt with one hand as we paid off with the other; and
“ the land-tax was to be represented as the most grievous
“ tax to the nation, because it furnished him with the least
“ means of corruption.

“ In pursuance of these maxims,” continued Mr. Pulteney, “ the seven millions due by the South-Sea Company
“ to the public was generously released, and the expences of
“ the civil list so much increased, that a new debt of five
“ hundred thousand pounds was contracted, in the year
“ seventeen hundred and twenty-five, for paying the debts
“ of the civil list, though the like sum had been granted to
“ his late Majesty for the same purpose but four years before; and, upon his present Majesty’s accession, an addition
“ tion

LETTER VI. “ tion of one hundred thousand pounds was made to the civil
 “ list, besides the hundred and fifteen thousand pounds which
 “ were granted for making good a pretended deficiency in
 “ that revenue: but what furnished him with the best pre-
 “ tence for increasing the public charge, was the famous
 “ treaty of Hanover in the year seventeen hundred and
 “ twenty-five, for preventing the dangers with which Eu-
 “ rope was threatened from the over-grown power of the
 “ house of Austria; he did not think it sufficient to put this
 “ nation to the expence of augmenting our own armies, and
 “ taking foreign princes into our pay. Surely if Europe had
 “ at that time been in any danger from the over-grown power
 “ of the house of Austria, this nation was the last, and had
 “ the least to fear. The Dutch, who lay most exposed, were
 “ so little apprehensive, that they did not so much as accede
 “ to the treaty of Hanover till near a year after it was made;
 “ and the French, who had the most to fear from an alli-
 “ ance between the Emperor and Spain, put themselves to
 “ little or no expence, nor gave us any assistance, when we
 “ were openly attacked by Spain, on account of what we did
 “ for preventing the dangers to which they lay exposed:
 “ whereas, we took twelve thousand Hessians immediately
 “ into our pay, granted subsidies to the King of Sweden, to
 “ the King of Denmark, the Duke of Wolfenbüttele; and,
 “ what was most extraordinary, the subsidy to the Duke of
 “ Wolfem-

“ Wolfenbuttle was not granted till half a year after we
“ had made up matters with the Emperor; and the Hessian
“ troops were continued in our pay for several years after. LETTER VI.

“ I MUST therefore conclude,” continued Mr. Pulteney,
“ that all the expence which we put ourselves to on account,
“ of, or consequent to the treaty of Hanover, could proceed
“ from nothing but a design to prevent our paying off any
“ considerable part of our debts, or abolishing any of our
“ taxes; and the abolishing the salt duty in the year seven-
“ teen hundred and thirty, in order to diminish the sinking
“ fund, and reviving it again in the year seventeen hundred
“ and thirty-two, in case of the land tax, is a farther proof
“ of this design; but as it would be tedious to mention all
“ the arguments which might be brought in proof of this
“ design, I shall trouble you with no more, except the de-
“ feating of that scheme which was offered to this parlia-
“ ment for reducing the interest payable upon all our funds,
“ or for putting it out of the power of any future minister
“ to prevent the nation’s getting rid of its debt by degrees.
“ We must all remember by what means, and by whom, that
“ scheme was defeated; and considering how practicable it
“ was at that time, which I am afraid will never be again,
“ we must, I think, conclude, that the minister who de-
“ feated

LETTER VI. “ feared it could have no design that our debts should ever
“ be paid or our taxes diminished.

“ ONE circumstance, before I have done,” continued Mr. Pulteney, “ I must take notice on, of this minister’s conduct:—it is a thing which has been too often practised by
“ all ministers, and that is, the letting public securities stand
“ out without any fund for their payment, till they run to
“ a great discount, when they are bought up by the minister’s friends and tools, perhaps in trust for himself, and
“ then a fund is provided for paying them off at a full price.
“ We all know what a prodigious sum those debts due to
“ the army and to foreign states were at last brought to,
“ which continued for several years to circulate under the
“ name of army debentures, at an interest of four per cent,
“ without any fund for paying off the principal. Most of
“ those debentures, which were certified before the twenty-
“ first of March seventeen hundred and nineteen, were subscribed into the South-Sea Company: but of them there
“ remained unsubscribed near four hundred thousand; and
“ after the twenty-first of March, seventeen hundred and
“ nineteen, new army debentures were made out for debts
“ not before certified for near five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; so that for some time before the year seventeen hundred and twenty-seven there was near a million
“ circulating

“ circulating in army debentures at four per cent, without LETTER VI.
“ any certain fund for paying the principal; for as the sink-
“ ing fund had been appropriated to the payment of debts
“ contracted before the year seventeen hundred and sixteen,
“ some people doubted whether it could be applied to the
“ payment of these debentures; and as there was always a
“ great number of them at market, they came at last to be
“ sold at thirty per cent. discount; but towards the latter
“ end of the year seventeen hundred and sixteen, all which
“ could be got at any discount were bought up; and a cer-
“ tain shop in this city was particularly noted for the pur-
“ chasing such debentures: at last, upon the seventh of
“ March, seventeen hundred and twenty-six, a resolution
“ was come to, in this House, to pay off all those army de-
“ bentures, of which public notice was given; and by an
“ act of the same session, the sinking fund was appropriated
“ to the paying off all these debentures at their full price,
“ by which the last purchasers got, in a few months, above
“ thirty per cent. clear profit.”

ON the subject of this last abuse of power and trust, (for it certainly is a great one to defraud the creditors of the government for the emolument of the minister's friends and creatures) I must inform you, my friend, that a certain banker in the city of London owed part of those riches to this

LETTER VI. species of monopolization, which enabled him to enter into schemes on the same plan of monopoly, to accumulate in one hand almost half the property in Great-Britain. This is the shop hinted at by Mr. Pulteney; and to one of those accidents which raises a beggar to a princely fortune, or reduces a princely fortune to a condition of beggary, more than to any proper kind of police, or care of the government, we owe the not being entirely reduced to a state of vassalage to a few overgrown fortunes, raised by the arts of corruption, and by every species of fraud which are the most inimical to the welfare and the security of societies.

THE answer, my friend, given by Sir Robert Walpole to the charges of corruption, to abuse of trust in the direction of the foreign affairs of the kingdom, and to a general subversion in these points of the morals of the whole kingdom, by connivance or example, was as vague and unsatisfactory as had been the answer given on the same subject by Mr. Pelham; only it is worth observation, that he threw on the opposition the blame of all the miscarriages during the late wars, for their having harangued against regular troops and standing armies, and declared, that he should think himself very little concerned in the event of the present question, if it were not for the encroachments which would thereby be made upon the prerogatives of the crown; therefore, for the
 sake

fake of his master, without any regard to himself, he hoped that all those who had any due regard for the constitution, and for the rights and prerogatives of the crown, without which the constitution could not be preserved, would be against the motion. LETTER VI.

THIS important motion, on the fate of which, it is probable, hung the preservation or the destruction of the country, by the effect it must necessarily have on the conduct of future ministers, was lost by an hundred and eighty-four voices; and if you will consult the debates of the Commons in the year seventeen hundred and forty, you will, to your astonishment, find, that above sixty members, who were supposed to be of the minority, left the House before it came to a division.

I should, I own to you, my friend, have been much puzzled to account for this phenomenon, if I had not had the good fortune to have been acquainted with Mr. Alderman Heathcote, the few years which immediately preceded his death. Mr. Alderman Heathcote was a very worthy and a very honest man, unbiaſſed by party prejudice, and steady to the true interests of his country, which he understood better than almost any member of the two Houses I ever had the honor of conversing with: he felt all the happy consequences which must

LETTER VI. naturally attend the bringing a bad minister to disgrace and punishment, and on these reasons was very warm in the opposition against Walpole; and he did assure me, that the motion would have been carried if the party had not been deserted in the very crisis of the business by the tories, whose party prejudices would not suffer them to crown their opposition with success, by acting on what they termed republican principles.

WHAT but necessary ruin must attend a country whose interests, if not deserted for the lucre of gain, are thus wantonly sacrificed to the catch-word of a faction?

It was not the fate of England, my friend, to have a long breathing time without the being engaged in affairs of the Continent. Charles the Sixth, Emperor of Germany, and the last male sovereign of the house of Austria, died on the twentieth day of October, 1740: he was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, married to the Grand Duke of Tuscany: but though this princess succeeded as Queen of Hungary, by virtue of the pragmatic sanction guaranteed by all the powers in Europe, yet the restless ambition of her neighbours produced such contests as kindled a-new the flames of war in the empire. The young King of Prussia, animated with an
ardent

ardent desire of extending his dominions, and inrolling his LETTER VI.
name in the list of the first military heroes of antiquity, no
sooner was informed of the Emperor's death, than he en-
tered Silesia at the head of an army of twenty thousand men,
seized certain fiefs, to which he alledged his family laid claim,
and at the same time published a manifesto, declaring that
he had no intention to contravene the pragmatic sanction.
The Elector of Bavaria refused to acknowledge the Arch-
duchess Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, alledging, that
himself had pretensions to these dominions, as the descendant
of the Emperor Ferdinand the First.

On the meeting of the English Parliament, in the begin-
ning of April, seventeen hundred and forty-one, the two
Houses were informed that the Queen of Hungary had made
requisition of twelve thousand men, stipulated by treaty.
They were told from the throne, that, in the present uncer-
tain state of affairs, many incidents might arise which would
render it necessary for his Majesty to incur extraordinary ex-
pences for maintaining the pragmatic sanction, at a time
when recourse could not possibly be had to the advice and
assistance of parliament; and therefore it was necessary that
the Commons should provide such a supply as might be re-
quisite for these ends.

LETTER VI.

THE wasting the blood and treasure of England is a measure which seems to have been invariably pursued by the government, in a systematic way, from the first period of the Revolution. Sir Robert Walpole availed himself of the present opportunity for moving, that an aid of two hundred thousand pounds should be granted to the Queen of Hungary. Mr. Shippen, as usual, protested against any interposition in the affairs of Germany; and the Lower House, as usual, in their address to the throne, approved of the measures of administration, and declared, that they would effectually support the King against all insults and attacks which might be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of England; and that they would enable him to contribute, in the most effectual manner, to the support of the Queen of Hungary. Agreeable to the subject of this address, the House resolved, that three hundred thousand pounds should be granted to his Majesty, to enable him effectually to support the Queen of Hungary.

To defray the extraordinary expences of the year, a million was deducted from the sinking fund,—that treasure, which in time was to operate to the working the nation out of debt; and the land tax was continued at four shillings in the pound.

THE events of the war, my friend, were not answerable LETTER VI.
to the success which the government met with in the two
Houses of Parliament. Sir Challoner Ogle, who sailed this
year from Spithead, met with a storm in the Bay of Biscay,
and his fleet, consisting of above one hundred and seventy
sail, were scattered and dispersed. Ogle, after collecting his
scattered forces, continued his course to Jamaica; in his
way he encountered part of a French squadron, under the
command of the Marquis D'Autin, who had orders to assist
the Spanish Admiral De Torres, in attacking and distressing
the English ships and colonies: on the refusal of the French
to bring to, they were saluted by the English with a broad-
side; a smart engagement ensued; but as war had not yet
been declared between the two nations, on the discovery by
the morning light of the French colours, hostilities ceased;
the respective commanders reciprocally excused themselves
for the mistake which had happened, and parted friends, tho'
with a considerable loss of men on both sides.

ON the arrival of Ogle at Jamaica, he joined Vice-Admiral
Vernon, who, with the union of this squadron, was at the
head of a formidable fleet, consisting of twenty-nine ships of
the line, with an equal number of frigates, fire-ships, and
bomb-ketches, all well manned, and plentifully supplied
with provisions, stores, and necessaries.

It

LETTER VI. It is said, my friend, that this was the most powerful fleet and army which had ever sailed on these seas; and that had this armament been ready to act at the proper season of the year, under the conduct of able officers who were united in council, and whose regard to the honor and the interest of their country was superior to private pique and malice, that the Havannah, and the whole island of Cuba, might have been easily reduced; that the whole treasure of the Spanish West-Indies would have been intercepted, and the proud Spaniard consequently crushed and humbled into abject submission.

Not so easily, or so surely, my friend, was England to be repaid for the many millions it had already spent in this unsuccessful war. By an unaccountable neglect in the dispatch of business, Ogle was detained at Spithead until the season for action was over; and whether it was owing to the fear of meeting with the periodical rains, which begin about the end of April, and which are attended with epidemical distempers, or some other consideration, when Ogle, on the ninth day of January, arrived at Jamaica, Vernon, instead of directing his course to the Havannah, sailed towards Hispaniola, in order to observe the motion of the French squadron commanded by the Marquis D'Antin. Vernon, missing the enemy, proceeded to Carthagena, where the English,
from

from a series of unpardonable blunders, and through the disagreement between the Admiral and the General, were foiled in their attempt on the town, in which they lost many men, besides numbers who, after the re-embarkation of the troops, were taken off by the fatal distempers peculiar to the climate and the season. Another unsuccessful expedition to Cuba, finished for this year the losses and disgraces which, through the whole year, had attended the British arms; and this, with the large number of prizes, to the amount of four hundred and seven ships, taken by the enemy, notwithstanding three large fleets maintained for the protection of commerce, had an effect on the temper of England; that, notwithstanding the whole weight of ministerial influence, the contrary interest prevailed in the new parliament, which opened on the first day of December, seventeen hundred and forty-one.

THE address of thanks to his Majesty, which, you know, my friend, is always an echoing back the speech from the throne, was carried by a small majority; but the circumstance which prognosticated the total defeat of Sir Robert Walpole's power, was the carrying the point of a disputed election by six voices only. Men who forsake the principles of conscience, seldom preserve those of honor: a minister,

LETTER VI. under the circumstances as described above, is always deserted by those whose precaution engages them to make an early court to the new favorites of fortune. In the next question, the court interest was not powerful enough to support their members for Westminster; nay, more, the high bailiff was taken into custody for illegal practices at the poll; and three justices of the peace who, on the pretence of preventing riots, had sent for a military force to over-awe the election, with the military officer who had ordered the soldiers to march, were reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the House.

THE party in opposition maintained the superiority they had gained in deciding on other controverted elections; and Sir Robert Walpole now found himself on the brink of the Tower. With unwearied diligence his emissaries were employed in the business of bringing over, by proper temptations, the most considerable members of the opposite party: a message was sent by the Bishop of Oxford to the Prince of Wales, importing, that if his Royal Highness would write a letter of condescension to the King, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favor, fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue, four times that sum should be disbursed immediately for the payment of his debts, and suitable provision

vision be made in due time for all his followers. The Prince of Wales, with a very laudable fortitude, declined a proposal which must have lost him the confidence of a party who regarded him as their head, and totally have sunk his reputation with the public: he declared he would not accept of any conditions while Sir Robert Walpole continued to direct the public affairs; that he looked upon this minister as a bar between his Majesty and the affection of his people, as the author of the national grievances at home and abroad, and the sole cause of that contempt which Great-Britain had incurred in all the courts in Europe. Foiled in this attempt by the steady conduct of the Prince, and finding his party every day grow weaker and weaker in the House of Commons, the minister took into serious consideration a timely retreat. The King adjourned both Houses of Parliament for the space of a fortnight, and in the interim Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments. LETTER VI.

It was not a shelter in the House of Lords, my friend, on which the minister depended for his safety; he was well convinced, that the opposition, if they had sufficient honesty, had sufficient powers to drag him from any such retreat; and in this opinion himself and his agents operated with such

LETTER VI. value of titles? Do not men regard titles merely for the cap and courtesy which follow them? Yet Mr. Pulteney gave up all these advantages, with the character of the first and the firmest patriot in the kingdom, for an empty title,—a title, indeed, so empty, that he had no sooner accepted it, than, according to what I have heard my father, who was a great admirer of Mr. Pulteney, say, the respectful attention of mankind was turned into a studied contempt and neglect, the acclamations of the public into scoffs and hisses, and every feat Mr. Pulteney touched, as if infected with the plague, was carefully avoided.

IN the pliant manners of these times, which bend to exterior appearances, without any regard to conduct or principle, we can have no idea of the mortifications endured by this quondam patriot: indeed they were so great, that he was accused by the free-thinkers with the want of spirit for the not putting a sudden period to his life; but experience shews that Lord Bath judged better, and he lived to see the time when a full complacency was paid to his fortune and his rank, without any regard, except by a few primitive men, to his former defection: however, my friend, I cannot leave the subject without the following reflection, That the fall of this great man is one of the most remarkable instances
which

which shew that the Almighty Ruler of the Universe will not suffer defective characters to be instruments in so glorious a work as the breaking the yoke of tyranny ; nor permit that men, who are without the principle to enjoy, for any length of time, the rewards of virtue, or even to carry the externals to the grave.

LETTER

which shew that the Almighty Ruler of the Universe will LETTER VI.
not suffer defective characters to be instruments in so glorious a work as the breaking the yoke of tyranny; nor permit men, who are without the principle of virtue, to enjoy, for any length of time, its never-failing rewards, or even to carry its externals to the grave.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate,

And most grateful servant,

CATHARINE MACAULAY.

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- 2, end of the second line, *for a, read an.*
- 7, *for Scomberg, read Schomberg.*
- 28, *for counfels, read councils.*
- 44, *for oppoſition, read opposition.*
- 82, *for principle, read principal.*
- 86, *for Normandy, read Normanby.*
- 97, *for Benhow. read Remhow.*
- 107, *for Marzin, read Marſin.*
- 126, *for Majorca, read Minorca.*
- 178, *for Lords North and Grey, read Lord North and Grey.*
- 213, *for Gertruzdenburgh, read Gertruydenburgh.*
- 217, *for Sacheveril, read Sacheverell.*
- 278, *for Lewis the Twelfth, read Lewis the Fourteenth.*
- 284, laſt line, *inſert were before totally.*
- 338, *for twenty-seven, read twenty-five.*
- 344, *for Hoſſier, read Hoſier.*
- 374, *for deriſable, read defirable.*
- 415, *for D'Autin, read D'Antin.*

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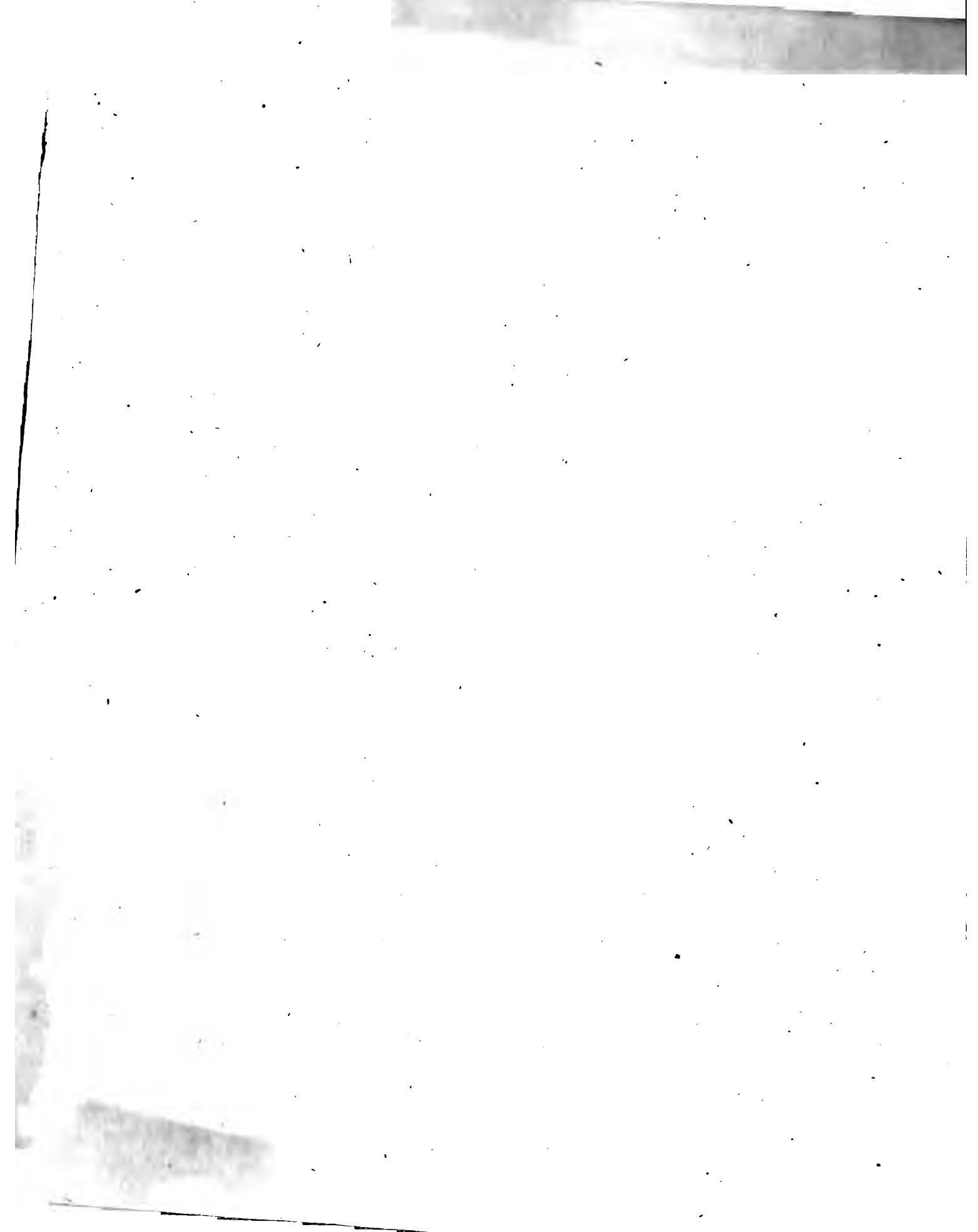
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